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FROM CAULDRON OF PLENTY TO GRAIL

No one who is conversant with the way in which men's minds operated in the Middle Ages ought to find any difficulty in thinking of the Grail as a Christianization of a heathen vessel of plenty. Numerous analogies show what a common thing it was for men in the earlier Middle Ages to Christianize heathen customs and talismans, and to incorporate into legends of saints, stories that belonged to heathen deities. Josaphat in the mediaeval legend of St. Barlaam and St. Josaphat is certainly a Christianization of the Buddha.¹ Everyone knows that the Parthenon and the Pantheon were turned into Christian churches; Pope Boniface consecrated the Pantheon as a church of the martyrs, i.e., of all saints. It is generally thought that Christmas was fixed at December 25 in order to coincide with the feast of the return of the sun; and that in the ninth century All Saints' Day was transposed from May 13 to November 1,² in order to supplant a pagan feast of the dead (Irish *Samhain*). Various saints' legends were spun out of stories about pagan gods whom the saints resembled in name or in some other particular. This Christianization of pagan deities and pagan marvels is believed to have been especially prevalent in Ireland, where the first missionaries

¹ Kuhn, *Barlaam und Josaphat*, 1893.

² For references see Saintyves, *Les Saints successeurs des Dieux*, pp. 83 f., a book which carries its argument too far. Delchaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, Eng. trans., p. 181, disagrees.

showed a generous indulgence¹ toward such popular beliefs as were not positively inimical to Christianity, and where monks copied down and preserved stories of the older pagan time. A transparent instance is the adoption in the legend of St. Bridget of stories concerning the goddess Brig or Brigit.²

More than twenty-five years have elapsed since Nutt sought to explain the Grail³ as a development and a Christianization of a Celtic vessel of plenty, and during the quarter of a century that has elapsed the researches of numerous scholars have succeeded in alleging little positive evidence against Nutt's general position.⁴ Yet despite the almost universal analogy of development from heathen to Christian, various writers continue to express doubt concerning any fundamental connection between the plenty-giving objects of fairy lore and the Holy Grail.⁵ It is clear, also, that other students of the Grail, who may perhaps regard Nutt's hypothesis as probable, attach a great deal of importance to the difficulty of transition from pagan to Christian, which they think interferes with the connection that he postulated.

Under these circumstances it seems as if a step forward toward a solution of this problem of origin would be made by showing, as it is possible to show, that on Irish soil, previous to the time of Chrétien, a plenty-giving cauldron with its surroundings had been Christianized

¹ Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés celtiques*, pp. 57-58 (a work which has the *imprimatur*), objects to statements of Nutt, Rhys, and others, concerning the conciliatory spirit of the first missionaries in Ireland, but his objection is, I think, chiefly directed against the hazardous idea that the doctrines of the early church of Ireland were modified by survivals of paganism. In another place, pp. 61-62, Gougaud seems to admit the well-known tendency of Irish legends to preserve marvels, whether or not of pagan origin: "En tout lieu les imaginations furent, au moyen âge, friandes de merveilleux. Mais il n'est peut-être pas de peuple chez qui le goût de l'extraordinaire et du bizarre ait été aussi vif que chez les Celtes d'outre-mer. Toute leur littérature, la religieuse comme la profane est là pour attester ce trait vraiment caractéristique de leur génie. L'auteur d'une vie de saint était donc tout naturellement amené," etc.

² Plummer, *Vitas Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, cxxvii, n. 3; Cormac's *Glossary*, section 150, testifies that Brigit was called a "goddess" by all Irishmen.

³ *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, 1888. Reasons for seeking the sources of the Grail in Celtic story were collected by me in *MLN*, XXVIII, 21-26. Notable are (1) the connection with Arthur, (2) the identity of atmosphere between the Grail episodes and other portions of Chrétien's romances.

⁴ E.g., Brugger, *ZFSL*, XXXVI³, 187.

⁵ E.g., Sterzenbach, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der Sage vom heiligen Gral*, 1908; Iselin, *Der morgenländische Ursprung der Grallegeende*, 1909; von Schroeder, "Die Wurzeln der Sage vom heiligen Gral," *Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, 1910; Miss Peebles, *Legend of Longinus*, pp. 170 f., 1911; Foerster, *Wörterbuch zu Kristian, Einleitung*, 1914, p. 184; Golther, in a review of Foerster, *ZFSL*, XLIII² (1915), 147.

and ecclesiasticized into something that closely resembled the eucharistic service.

This transition from a fairy abode with its cauldron of plenty to a church with food supplied by angels can be traced in the Irish *imrama* or "oversea voyages." The *imrama* form a definite kind of Irish story-telling which is becoming in recent years pretty well known. They developed in Ireland before the eleventh century and gave rise to the famous *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*. The *Voyage of St. Brendan* is nothing more than an *imram* retold by a monk¹ who has dressed up the pagan marvels of his original in orthodox ecclesiastical costume. It met with wonderful success and entered into the literature of most of the countries of Western Europe.² The time at which the legend of St. Brendan passed from Celtic into Latin was not very far from that time at which one may suppose that the kernel of the Grail legend emerged from similar insular sources. In short, the history of the St. Brendan legend would be a close parallel, in origin, in development, and in success, to the origin and development of the Grail story.

The *imrama* are of great antiquity. The oldest is the *Imram Brain* or "Voyage of Bran," which was originally written down in the seventh century.³ A fairy abode with marvelous food is here pictured as a heathen wonderland of purely sensual delights. The marvelous food episode is found in section 62 of the story:

Bran, with twenty-seven men, after leaving the "Island of Joy," reached the Land of Women, where he was welcomed by twenty-seven damsels. . . . Thereupon they went into a large house, in which was a bed for every couple, even thrice nine beds. The food that was put on every dish vanished not from them. It seemed a year to them that they were there—it chanced to be many years. No savour was wanting to them.⁴

The last phrase which occurs in varying forms in similar stories means that each man tasted the food that he liked best.

¹ Of course, he may have made additions from classic or oriental story. For different views on the Brendan legend see Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio Evo*, p. 186, n. 62. A hint of the concrete way in which the *Navigatio* rests upon Irish story is seen in the name of Brendan's big fish *Jasconius*, which is simply a Latinization of the Irish word for fish, *iasc*; see Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, p. 239.

² The *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* exists in a tenth-century manuscript which is a copy of something still older (Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, xli, n. 2). The Anglo-Norman Brendan poem dates from ca. 1120 (Plummer, I, xlii).

³ Kuno Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, I, xvi.

⁴ Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 30.

The *Imram Maelduin* must have been originally written down at the latest in the early eighth century,¹ but in the version that we have additions and interpolations may have been made down to the end of the tenth century.² As was pointed out by me some twelve years ago³ and by Nutt before that,⁴ this *imram* consists of four or five versions of the same theme of a visit to *Mag Mell* or the earthly paradise, which have been illogically attached one after the other in order to make up a long saga. Thus, each incident is told over and over again in slightly varying versions. The earthly paradise episode is, of course, especially favored, and the different variations on the same theme range from a tone almost if not quite pagan to one highly ecclesiastical. In what follows, the order of the saga is disregarded and the versions which have the most pagan coloring are placed first. Section 28 of the *Imram Maelduin*⁵ puts the marvelous food in a land of purely sensual delight, which seems as thoroughly pagan as the picture just given from the *Imram Brain*:

They came to an island "in which was a great house with seventeen grown-up girls." At noon the queen of the island arrived and invited Mailduin and his men into the house. She took her seat on one side of the house with her seventeen girls about her. "Mailduin sat on the other side over against the queen, with his seventeen men around him. Then a platter with good food thereon was brought to Mailduin, and along with it a vessel of glass full of good liquor and a platter for every three and a vessel for every three of his people."

That night the eighteen couples paired off, Mailduin sleeping with the queen. In the morning the queen urged the men to stay, saying: "Lasting life shall ye have always, and what came to you last night shall come to you every night without any labour." Mailduin and his men remained in this island for more than three months, enjoying the perpetual banquet, and they finally had considerable difficulty in escaping from the amorous damsels.⁶

¹ Zimmer, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 148.

² Nutt, *op. cit.*, I, 163, n. 1.

³ "Iwain," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 67-68.

⁴ *Voyage of Bran*, I, (1895) 166. Nutt's words are (in part): "We are justified in making use of the three versions (sections 16, 17, 28) to reconstruct the idea of damsel-land as it existed in the minds of the original author of Maelduin and of the continuators."

⁵ Edition and translation by Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, X, 62.

⁶ Zimmer, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 328, urged with little plausibility that this and later *imrama* grew up under the influence of Vergil's *Aeneid*. He even thought that the episode just quoted was shaped by the story of Aeneas and Dido. The admission of Vergilian influence would not interfere with the present argument. The episode in *Mailduin* resembles closely that in *Bran*, which Zimmer admitted to be free from Vergilian echoes. Most of the details in the episode, including the marvelous food, as any study of older

An obvious variant of this damsel-land is in section 16:

They came to an island where "a maiden went to meet them, and brought them on land, and gave them food. They likened it to cheese, and whatever taste was pleasing to anyone he would find it therein; and she dealt [liquor] to them out of a little vessel, so that they slept an intoxication of three days and three nights. All this time the maiden was tending them. When they awoke on the third day, they were in their boat at sea. Nowhere did they see their island or their maiden."

Section 17 tells almost the same story as section 16 and gives additional details:

"Thereafter they found another island which was not large. Therein was a fortress with a brazen door and brazen fastenings thereon. A bridge of glass [rose] by the portal. When they used to go upon the bridge, they would fall down backwards. With that they espy a woman coming out of the fortress with a pail in her hand. . . . After this they were striking the brazen fastenings and the brazen net that was before them and then the sound which they made was a sweet and soothing music which sent them to sleep till the morrow morning." . . . When they awoke they saw the woman coming as before but the same melody laid them low till the morrow.

"Three days and three nights were they in that wise. On the fourth day thereafter the woman went to them. . . . 'My welcome to thee, O Mailduin,' saith she. And she named each man [of the crew] apart, by his own name. 'It is long since your coming here hath been known and understood.'

"Then she takes [them] with her into a great house that stood near the sea. . . . She brought them in one pannier food like unto cheese or *táth*. She gave a share to every three. Every savour that each desired, this he would find therein. There she tended Mailduin apart. And she filled her pail . . . and dealt liquor to them. . . . Then she went away from them with her one vessel and with her pail. . . . She comes on the morrow. They said to her, 'Wilt thou show affection to Mailduin, and sleep with him? and why not stay here tonight?' She said she knew not, and had never known what sin was. Then she went from them to her house; and on the morrow, at the same hour, she comes with her tendance to them. And when they were drunken and sated, they say the same words to her.

"'Tomorrow,' saith she, 'an answer concerning that will be given to you.' Then she went to her house, and they sleep on their couches. When they awoke they were in their boat on a crag; and they saw not the island, nor the fortress, nor the lady, nor the place wherein they had been."

Irish fairy stories will show, belong to pagan Irish belief about fairyland. Cf. Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 144 f.; Saalbach, *Entstehungsgeschichte der schottischen Volksballade T. Rymer*, 1913, pp. 17 f.

The statement of the woman that she "knew not what sin was" may be an insertion made by a Christian redactor.¹ Other details, however, such as the sleep-bringing music, the disappearance of the island overnight, and in particular the food which affords each man the taste that he desires, belong to pagan fairy lore.²

In another episode which is contained in section 11 a treasure-house with marvelous food is described. This island and treasure-house are empty of inhabitants and are guarded only by a small cat.

A still different and perhaps ruder conception of the other world is given in the Island of the Fish Weir in section 6:

"They discovered a great high island with a great house therein on the seashore, and a doorway of the house into the plain of the island, and another door [opening] into the sea, and against that door there was a valve of stone. That valve was pierced by an aperture, through which the sea waves were flinging the salmon into the midst of that house. Mailduin and his men entered that house, and therein they found no one. After this they beheld a testered bed for the chief of the house alone, and a bed for every three of his household, and the food for three before every bed, and a vessel of glass with good liquor before every bed, and a cup of glass on every vessel. So they dined off that food and liquor, and they give thanks to Almighty God who had helped them from the hunger."

This episode is not to be sharply differentiated from those already quoted, because a palace where food and tending are supplied by invisible hands, or a house of plenty, apparently uninhabited, is one of the well-known traditional forms of the Irish other world.³

An obvious variant of this story of never-failing fish occurs in the Island of the Salmon, section 25:

"A great stream rose up out of the strand of the island and went like a rainbow, over the whole island, and descended . . . on the other side thereof. . . . And they were piercing [with their spears] the stream above; and [then] great, enormous salmon were tumbling from above out of the stream down upon the soil of the island."

In section 33, the marvelous food is again, at least in part, fish, an indication that one of the underlying ideas is the same as that set forth more rudely in the paragraphs last quoted. But here an

¹ Nutt suggests a pagan chastity-taboo, *op.cit.*, I, 167.

² That the woman had but one vessel could be explained as the surviving trace of an original belief that this was no ordinary vessel, but a talisman which of itself supplied food.

³ See *Echtra Cormaic, Irische Texte*, III, 1, 195, 214; *Echtra Airt, Eriu*, III, 156; cf. also Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 238.

unmistakably Christian element enters in the person of the "cleric" who has possession of this marvelous food:

"They see far off among the waves a shape like a white bird. . . . When they had drawn near it in rowing they saw that it was a human being and that he was clothed only with the white hair of his body." This "cleric" told Mailduin that he was an evil cook for the monastery at Torach. Once when he was digging in the churchyard, he spared a corpse which begged not to be disturbed. The buried man then promised, if spared being dug up, to grant to the evil cook "to abide in eternal life along with God." After this the cleric set out in a new boat on the sea and a great wind blew him into the ocean. "And as I looked round me on every side I beheld on my right hand the man [i.e., the man whose corpse he had spared] sitting upon the wave, who said to me, 'Whither goest thou?' 'Pleasant to me,' say I, 'is the direction in which I am gazing over the sea.'" The man on the wave pointed out a crowd of demons and told the evil cook to fling everything into the sea.

"Then I fling everything into the sea save a little wooden cup. 'Go now,' saith he to me, 'and in the stead in which thy boat will pause stay therein.' And then he gave me for provision a cup of whey-water and seven cakes."

The cleric told how he went on without oars or rudder until the boat cast him upon the rock where he now stood. "Seven years am I here," saith he, 'living on the seven cakes and on the cup of whey-water, which was given me by the man who sent me from him. And I had no provision save only my cup of whey-water. This still remained there. After that I was in a three days fast,' saith he. 'Now after three days, at the hour of none an otter brought me a salmon out of the sea.'" Then the cleric went on to tell how another otter brought him flaming firewood. Thus he cooked the salmon and ate, and the otters continued to bring him salmon and firewood every day for seven more years. At the end of the second seven years no salmon was brought, so he fasted for three days. "At the third none of the three days, there half a cake of wheat and a piece of fish were cast up. Then my cup of whey-water escapes from me, and there came to me a cup of the same size filled with good liquor which is on the crag here, and it is full every day. And neither wind, nor wet, nor heat, nor cold, affects me in this place. This is my story,' saith the ancient man."

Mailduin and his men landed on the island. "Now when the hour of none arrived half a cake and a piece of fish come to each of them all, and in the cup, which stood before the cleric on the rock, was found their fill of good liquor."

This is the last marvelous island visited by Mailduin, and as such has some claim to be regarded as the land that he especially sought.

At first glance it might seem possible to explain this island by purely ecclesiastical conceptions. The otter, as purveyor of the marvelous food, may have been suggested to the redactor by the miracle of Elijah fed by ravens,¹ the cake of wheat and cup of liquor by the angel that fed Elijah with a baked cake and a cruse of water.²

But a more careful consideration shows that the redactor is using some pagan Irish ideas. The cleric who "abides in eternal life" is not in purgatory. There can be no question of heaven here. He is in the happy other world of pagan belief.³ No purely ecclesiastical source explains all the ideas. The redactor is syncretizing pagan and Christian material. The rudderless boat is certainly a traditional device for reaching the other world.⁴ We may conjecture that the notion of fish as a supernatural food is, in this *imram*, a pagan Irish idea which has developed out of ruder forms, such as can be seen in sections 6 and 25.

The mysterious man sitting upon the wave, who gives the hermit a cup of whey-water, seems to be a Christianization of Manannán, who in the *Imram Brain* drove in his chariot over the sea to meet Bran and

¹ I Kings 17:6.

² *Ibid.*, 19:5-6.

³ Zimmer, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 286 f., has argued that the Irish fourfold division of the human race after death arose by the preservation in Ireland of a pagan happy other world alongside of the Christian purgatory, heaven, and hell. Nutt, *V. of B.*, I, 225, expressed a doubt. The decision whether this fourfold division could possibly be a purely Christian development must be left to eschatologists. But it strikes me that this division could hardly come from the Book of Enoch, as Boswell (*An Irish Precursor of Dante*, p. 172, n. 1) believed. The fourfold division of the Book of Enoch, c. 22, into (1) martyrs, (2) the rest of the righteous, (3) sinners who were punished in this life, (4) sinners not yet punished, seems to me decidedly different. Besides, Charles, the latest editor, does not understand (*Book of Enoch* [Oxford, 1912], p. 46) the Book of Enoch to intend a fourfold division of the dead. He doubts if it means to separate the martyrs from the rest of the righteous.

The name *Tír Tairngiri* ("Land of Promise"), given to Manannán's land in the *Echtra Cormaic* (*Irische Texte*, III, 1, 185), and elsewhere proves that the Irish identified their *Mag Mell* with the Canaan of Old Testament promise (*LL*, 168b 3, says *Mag Mell* is in *Tír Tairngiri*; cf. K. Meyer, *Cath Finntrága*, p. xiii), and this shows, I think, that the earthly paradise, even if it existed already in Christian thought, became for the Irish a different and more definite thing.

⁴ Originally, a rudderless boat, or a boat not directed by oars or sails, was a gift from a fairy goddess, and returned of itself with the hero to fairyland. See *Serglige Conculaind* (*Irische Texte*, I, 210); *Doel Dermot*, *ibid.*, II, 178, 196; and Manannán's ship used by the children of Tuirenn in *Aoidhe Chloinne Tuireann*, O'Curry's trans., *Atlantis*, IV, 158 f. A boat left to drift occurs in *Maildúin*, *Hús Corra*, and *Snedgus* at the beginning of the voyage, also in the *Navigatio*, section 2, where Barintus journeys through a thick mist, and again, section 6, when Brendan sets out. For references see Plummer, I, xcix, n. 5; Miss Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, II, 371 f.; my *Iwain*, p. 79, n. 1; and compare the marvelous boats in *Guigemar* and *Partenopeus*. Miss Schoepperle is inclined to think that the rudderless boat in *Tristan* is of Irish origin (p. 390). Nobody would claim that the idea is exclusively Irish (cf. the self-moving boats of the Phaeacians, *Odys.* viii. 558), but when it occurs in an *imram* it is pretty safe to regard it as traditionally Irish.

sang about the salmon leaping in the waves.¹ The sea-god appears in similar fashion in the story of Ciabán,² and elsewhere. Indeed, this meeting with Manannán on the sea was a stock *imram*-incident which became Christianized in various ways. A ninth-century Irish martyrology relates that St. Bairre when on ship met St. Scuithin walking on the waves. Bairre picked up a salmon from the sea and handed it to Scuithin.³ The Latin life of St. David tells how St. Bairre, while traveling over the sea, met St. Brendan on his whale.⁴ Scuithin and Brendan have in these legends been put into the place of Manannán. Barintus, who in the *Navigatio*, section 2, suggests to St. Brendan the idea of a voyage, and in Geoffrey's *Vita Merlini* acts as pilot for Arthur to the Fortunate Isles, is merely a name for Manannán.⁵

Similarly, the redactor of the *Imram Maelduin* in this episode is syncretizing what we may provisionally call pagan elements and ecclesiastical notions. In an earlier form of the story it was, no doubt, Manannán, the sea-fairy or sea-god, who gave to the cleric the cup of plenty. The redactor has kept the mysterious figure, although he has struck out the pagan name and leaves us to imagine him to be the soul of the dead man and doubtless some powerful saint.

In section 20 the island of supernatural food is not only in charge of a hermit, but it contains an ecclesiastical fountain which yields milk on Sundays, etc.:

They came to an island with a golden rampart around it, and the floor of it white like down. Here they saw a man whose raiment was the hair of his own body. They inquired what sustenance he found, and he told them that in the island was a fountain which yielded whey or water on Friday and on Wednesday, but milk on Sunday, and ale and wine on the greater feasts. In this island they were miraculously fed. "At none there came to every man of them half a cake and a piece of fish; and they drank their fill of the liquor, which was yielded to them out of the fountain of the island, and it cast them into a heavy sleep from that hour till the morrow."

¹ This was suggested by Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, p. 156.

² *Irische Texte*, IV, 1, 106 ff.

³ *Féilire Oengusso*, ed. Stokes, p. 41; cf. Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, cxxxii, "The story of Bairre and Scuithin meeting on the sea is only an ecclesiastical version of the meeting of Bran and Manannán."

⁴ Ed. Wade-Evans, *Y Cymmrodor*, XXIV, pp. 18, 55-56; cf. Plummer, I, xxxi.

⁵ This I venture to suppose that I have proved in *Rev. Celt.*, XXII, 339.

This sleep-giving food connects this episode with sections 17 and 18 above.

In section 19 much the same story is told, but the episode of marvelous food is thoroughly ecclesiasticized, and definite mention is made of the ministry of angels:

They came to an island of birds where there was a man whose clothing was his hair. He told the travelers, "'The birds which thou beholdest in the trees' saith he, 'are the souls of my children and my kindred, both men and women, who are yonder awaiting doomsday.'¹ Half a cake and a slice of fish and the liquor of the well [in the island] God hath given me. That cometh to me daily,' saith he, 'by the ministry of angels.' 'At the hour of none, moreover, another half-cake and slice of fish come to every man yonder, and every woman, and the liquor of the well as is enough for every one.' When their three nights of guesting were complete, they bade farewell."

For this episode the redactor is apparently borrowing from the story of the angel that fed Elijah, and the mention of fish has suggested to him the miracle of the multitude fed by loaves and fishes.² From this miracle it is an easy step to the Eucharist, of which the miracle of the loaves and fishes was regarded as a symbol.³

In point of fact, the tenth-century *Imram Snedgusa ocus maic Rtagala* has corresponding to these ecclesiastical islands of the *Imram Maielduin* an episode in which the place of the marvelous food is taken by the Christian eucharistic feast. This episode, which comes at the end of the *Imram Snedgusa* in section 25, is as follows:⁴

"And they beheld a great, lofty island, and all therein was delightful and hallowed. Good was the King that abode in the island, and he was holy and righteous: and great was his host, and noble was the dwelling of that King, for there were a hundred doors in that house, and an altar at every door, and a priest at every altar offering Christ's body. So the clerics [i.e., Snedgus and his companions] entered that house and each of them [host and guests] blessed the other; and thereafter the whole of that great

¹ According to Zimmer, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 217, this idea of souls in bird shape came from an old Irish text (*LU*. 17a, 1 f.; *LL*. 280a, 43 f.) which describes Elias under the tree of life. This story is also in the *Fis Adamnáin*, c. 33.

² Matt. 14:14 f.; John 6:1 f.

³ *Dict. de Théologie Catholique*, V, cols. 989, 1187; cf. Dölger, *Römische Quartalschrift*, XXIII, 41-42.

⁴ I follow the translation of Stokes, *R.C.*, IX, 14 ff. Zimmer dates this *imram* in the ninth or tenth century (*ZFDA*, XXXIII, 216-18). Another version of this *Imram Snedgusa*, printed and translated by Stokes, *R.C.*, XXVI, 130 ff., under the title "The Adventure of St. Columba's Clerics," refers to the same incident. See sections 51-56, where the dwellers in the great house are made to say: "We are here without age, without decay upon us, and we shall abide till Doom." The story is also contained in the Irish verses of section 57.

host, both woman and man, went to communion at the Mass. Then wine is dealt out to them, and the king saith to the clerics, "Tell the men of Ireland that a great vengeance is about to fall." [The king then predicted that Ireland was to be invaded by foreigners and that the voyagers should safely return to Ireland. This is the end of the saga.]¹

Even in this strikingly ecclesiastical episode one may perceive as in the other paragraphs traces of syncretism. The "great house" with one hundred doors is obviously not derived from church or Latin sources. It is an Irish palace like the *Bruiden Dá Derga*: "There are seven doorways into the house . . . and seventeen of Conaire's chariots at every door";² or the *Tech Midchuarta* at Tara, "It had fourteen doors,"³ or the palace of Mac Datho, "There were seven doors to that palace and seven roads ran through it."⁴

In the culminating episode of the *Imram Curaig húa Corra*, which was written in the eleventh century but has perhaps suffered addition and alteration at some time not later than the thirteenth century,⁵ may be seen the episode of marvelous food transformed into something thoroughly ecclesiastical and something, moreover, which is reminiscent of the Bible, and perhaps of the Eucharist.

Although the *Imram Curaig húa Corra* may have been retouched in the thirteenth century, it is probable that this thoroughly ecclesiastical story goes back to the eleventh century—that is, to a time earlier than the appearance of the Grail legend. That it is reasonable

¹ The *Imram Snedgusa* contains in section 15 a variant of the fish-weir episode (cf. *Mulduin*, sections 6 and 25) in regular pagan form: "Then they are sent to another island, with a fence of silver over the midst thereof, and a fish-weir therein; and that weir was a . . . plank of silver, and against the weir huge salmon were leaping. Bigger than a bull calf was each of these salmon, and thereof they were satisfied."

² *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*, ed. Stokes, *R.C.*, XXII, 36.

³ Keating, *Irish Texts Soc.*, VIII, 305.

⁴ *Irische Texte*, I, 96 (from *LL.*). For this comparison to Irish palaces and for other assistance, I am indebted to my friend, Professor T. P. Cross.

Most readers will probably see in the phrases about the great house and the noble dwelling reminiscences of biblical imagery. But I cannot help thinking that they owe something to the stock descriptions of *Mag Mell* and its king, which they much resemble. I have in mind such passages as the description of Manannán's palace in the *Echtra Cormaic* (*Irische Texte*, III, I, 213): "Then he sees another fortress vast and royal. . . . He sees the vast palace. . . . The warrior's face was distinguished owing to the beauty of his shape and the comeliness of his form, and the wondrousness of his countenance [the warrior is Manannán]"; and of the palace in the *Baile an Scail* (O'Curry, *MS Materials*, p. 621 [the Irish text is in *ZFCP*, III, 458]): "A kingly rath. . . . A splendid house in it. The champion himself in the house before them in his king's seat. There was never found in Tara a man of his great size, nor of his comeliness for the beauty of his form, the wonderfulness of his face."

⁵ Stokes says that the language is of the eleventh century (*R.C.*, XIV, 25). Zimmer thinks that it was not written earlier than the twelfth century (*op. cit.*, XXXIII, 198 ff.). Nutt believes that the present form is a rewriting of the thirteenth century (*Voyage of Bran*, I, 162).

to hold that this extreme ecclesiastical coloring had been developed at least as early as the eleventh century appears by comparing it with the corresponding episode just quoted from the tenth-century *Imram Snedgusa*.

The episode under discussion from the *Húi Corra* occurs at the end of the story, in section 73, and is as follows:¹

"They came to an island wherein dwelt one of Christ's disciples. Marvelous, moreover, was the island. A cell and a church were therein." The disciple or elder who was in the church told them that he fled from Christ and voyaged on the sea. He continued: "I chanced upon this island, and I ate some of the herbs of the island, and also of its fruit, till an angel came to me from heaven and said to me, 'Not rightly hast thou done,' quoth he, 'howbeit thou shalt abide in this life without death till Doomsday.' So I stand in that wise till today, and through him there comes not to me a meal at every none." [The text implies that the disciple was fed daily by the angel and so needed no earthly meal.]

"Thereafter they [all] went into one house and besought food from heaven for them. When they had prayed that a meal should be given to them [all] at the same time, the angel comes to them and leaves their meal on a flagstone before them on the strand, to wit, a cake for each man of them and upon it a piece of fish wherein was every savour that each of them severally would desire.

"Thereafter they bade farewell, and the old man related to them their [future] wanderings and their order of life."²

The author of this episode is plainly drawing from legends and ecclesiastical sources, but the fish which was eaten as food connects it with the more heathen episodes. As before, the disciple seems to be in the earthly paradise and not in any purely Christian abode. The phrase "every savour that each of them severally would desire" goes back to the *Imram Brain*.

It is probable that the redactor had in mind the sixth chapter of John where Jesus said that he was the bread of life: "Not as your

¹ Ed. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XIV, 26-63.

² Section 54 of the *Húi Corra* contains a variant of the damsel-land episode of *Mailduin*, sections 28, 16, and 17, and in a form untouched by ecclesiasticism: "After that there appeared to them another island, wonderful, shining, with a brazen palisade around it, and a brazen net spread on its spikes outside. . . . When they heard the music of the wind against the net, they cast themselves into sleep till the end of three days and three nights.

"A certain woman went to them out of the garth. . . . A pitcher of brass was in one of her hands, a drinking cup of silver in the other hand. She distributed to them food which seemed to them like soft cheeses. She dealt out to them the water of the well that was in the strand, and there was no savour that they did not find therein."

The sleep-bringing music and the food that affords to each man his favorite taste are well-known tokens of fairyland.

fathers did eat manna and are dead; he that eateth of this bread shall live forever." The way in which the disciples pray before the coming of the angel seems reminiscent of the words which the Bible uses concerning the disciples on the occasions of the descent of the Holy Ghost: "And when they had prayed the place was shaken where they were assembled together."¹ "They were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven," etc.² It is possible, though one cannot be sure, that the redactor of this episode thought of the disciples, on these occasions when the Holy Ghost descended, as met to celebrate the "breaking of bread." Anyhow, the coming of marvelous food after meeting together and after prayer is like the "in breaking of bread and in prayers,"³ of the Bible. The analogy of the *Snedgus* episode already pointed out makes a reference to the Eucharist here not improbable. All of the biblical miracles of plenty, from the manna in the wilderness to the turning of water into wine at Cana,⁴ and to the meal by the Sea of Galilee,⁵ were regarded as symbols of the Eucharist. Moreover, numerous early Christian monuments figure a fish on the communion table as a symbol of Christ.⁶

Boron in his *Joseph* certainly had in mind this explanation of the fish that was put upon the table with the Grail;⁷ evidently Chrétien did not, but perhaps the redactors of the various episodes in the *imrama*, which describe a cleric living on a fish and a cup of water, did have it in mind.

Those who advocate the hypothesis of an exclusively Christian origin for the Grail legend of course deny all syncretism in Boron's *Joseph*. They will have to explain the fish in this and other episodes of the *imrama*⁸ where a hermit or a cleric enters, as due entirely to a distorted reminiscence of Christian symbolism, the fish being a symbol

¹ Acts 4:31.

² Acts 2:1, 2.

³ Acts 2:42.

⁴ John 2:1 ff. See *Dict. d'arch. Chrétienne*, II, col. 1802.

⁵ John 21:9. See *Dict. de Théo. Catholique*, V, cols. 1187-88.

⁶ Dölger, *Das Fischsymbol in frühchristlicher Zeit*, I (1910). For the remarkable inscription at least as old as the fourth century at Autun in France: "Eat with delight, holding the fish in your hands," see I, 12, and 177, and cf. *Dict. d'arch. Chrétienne*, I, col. 3196.

⁷ See below, p. 84. For references, see Professor Nitzze's valuable article on the "Fisher King," *PMLA*, XXIV, 368f., which calls attention to the presence of syncretism in Chrétien and in Boron. The life-cult analogies of this article I am not prepared to follow.

⁸ *Mailduin*, sections 19, 20, 33; *Hús Corra*, section 73; *Snedgus*, section 25.

of Christ and the Eucharist. Looking at the matter with the best will in the world I do not see that this is a possible hypothesis for the *imrama*. The fish-weir episodes¹ cannot be explained by Christian symbolism. They are too plainly pagan and present too rude conceptions of plenty. One would have to assume that in the *Imram Mailduin* and in the *Imram Snedgusa* there happened to be, of entirely diverse origin, two sets of stories presenting fish as marvelous food: the fish-weir episodes where the fish comes from the peasant's gross idea of plenty; and the "hermit" episodes where the fish comes, according to this hypothesis, entirely from Christian symbolism, and that the second set of conceptions depended in no way upon the first. This is very unlikely. It is clearly reasonable to hold that the fish-weir episodes contributed to the development of the idea of the "hermit" episodes. The association with the Eucharist must have come at the end of a long development and was possible chiefly because the idea of the marvelous food as fish was already present. In other words, syncretism of heathen and Christian ideas must be admitted in the "hermit" episodes of the *imrama*. This being so, it is almost certain that syncretism has shaped the Grail story of Boron's *Joseph*. Syncretism is even more apparent in Chrétien's *Perceval*.

The sea fairies Manannán and his congener Bran would naturally be euhemerized into either sailors or fishermen. We know that Manannán was early rationalized into a mariner.² But when connected with marvelous food (and a sea-god's food is, of course, fish), they would be euhemerized into fishermen. This is the origin, I believe, of the Fisher King (Brons=Bran) of Boron's *Joseph*.³

It is instructive to compare what the Latin *Navigatio Sancti Brandani*, which goes back to the tenth century, makes of the marvelous food episodes in the *Imram Mailduin*. Section 20 of the

¹ *Mailduin*, sections 6, 25; *Snedgusa*, section 15.

² In Cormac's *Glossary*, which is generally assigned to the ninth or tenth century, occurs the following entry (O'Donovan's translation, ed. Stokes, p. 114): "Manannán mac Lir, a celebrated merchant who was in the Isle of Mann. He was the best pilot that was in the west of Europe. He used to know by studying the heavens, i.e., by using the sky, the period which would be the fine weather and the bad weather, and when each of these two times would change. Inde Scoti [the Irish of course] et Brittones eum deum vocaverunt maris, et inde filium maris esse dixerunt [i.e., Mac Lir, "son of sea"] et de nomine Manannán [the Isle of Mann] dictus est."

³ This identification was proposed by Nutt, *Studies on the Legend*, etc., p. 211.

Mailduin, which was quoted above, evidently gave the monkish transcriber the basis for section 11 of the *Navigatio*.¹

St. Brendan and his companions came to an island where there was a monastery kept by a band of monks, whose rules enjoined almost complete silence. The monks received St. Brendan's company into the house and washed their feet, keeping silent all the while. Then a brother served a marvelously white bread, giving one loaf to every two men, also herbs which had a wonderful savour. At length the abbot spoke:

"Panem vero quos videtis ubi preparantur ignotum est nobis aut quis portat ad nostrum celarium, sed tamen notum est nobis quod ex Dei magna elemosina ministratur servis suis per aliquam creaturam subjectam. Nos sumus hic XXIV fratres, omni die habemus XII panes ad nostram refec-tionem, inter duos singulos panes: in festivitibus et in dominicis diebus integros panes singulis fratribus addidit Deus ut cenam habeant ex frag-mentis; modo in adventu vestro duplicem annonam habemus; et ita nutrit nos Deus a tempore sancti Patricii et sancti Ailbei patris nostri usque modo per LXXX annos. At tamen senectus et languor in membris nostris minime amplificatur. In hac insula nichil ad comedendum indigemus quod igni paratur, neque frigus aut estus superat nos umquam. Sed cum tempus missarum venit aut vigiliarum, incenduntur luminaria nostra in ecclesia que duximus de terra nostra: divina predestinatione ardent usque diem et non minuitur ullum ex illis luminaribus."

The bread of unknown origin and the lights which kindle of them-selves and are never exhausted seem to be surviving traces of fairy-land. Notable also is the perpetual youth of the monks.

Section 33 of the *Mailduin*, quoted above, becomes as follows in section 23 of the *Navigatio*.²

St. Brendan and his company reached an island where they found two caves. In one of them was an old man, whose only clothing was his hair. He told St. Brendan that he had once spared to dig up the corpse of a dead man. In return the man had told him to put to sea, and the wind had driven him to this isle:

"Ego vero mansi hic. Circa horam nonam luter portavit michi prandium de mari, id est piscem unum, in ore suo et fasciculum de sarminibus ad focum faciendum inter suos anteriores pedes, ambulans super duobus posterioribus. Cum posuisset ante me piscem et cremina, reversus est unde venerat. Ego vero accepto ferro silicem percussi fecique ignem de creminibus et paravi michi cibum de illo pisce. Ita per XXX annos semper tertia die idem min-ister easdem escas attulit, id est unum piscem ad tres dies: terciam partem

¹ Quoted from Schröder's edition, 1871, pp. 14-17. Schröder does not number his paragraphs. I borrow the numbers from Wahlund's edition, *Brendan's Meerfahrt*, Upsala and Leipzig, 1900.

² Ed. Schröder, pp. 32-34.

piscis manducavi omni die et ex gratia Dei nulla inerat michi sitis, sed in die dominico egrediebatur foras paxillum de ista petra atque inde potui sumere potum et vasculum meum implere ad opus manuum. Post quoque XXX annos inveni istas duas speluncas et istum fontem vivum, et postea vixi per LX annos sine nutrimento alterius cibi nisi de hoc fonte. Nonagenarius etenim sum in hac insula: XXX annos in victu piscium et LX in pastu illius fontis et L in patria mea, omnes anni vite mee usque modo CXL sunt."

This episode in the *Navigatio* clearly suggests that the hermit was able to live on one-third of a fish a day, because of his austerity and holiness. Now the only passage in Chrétien's *Perceval* which ascribes any sanctity to the Grail or to the rulers of the Grail castle contains a similar idea. The father of the Grail king is so spiritual a person and the Grail so holy a thing that he needs no elaborate fish diet but only a single "oiste" that is brought to him in the Grail. Could not Chrétien have easily arrived at this statement if he had found in his original something resembling the story we have just read in the *Navigatio*? And could not such a story have easily been attached to a miracle of supernatural food before the time of Chrétien by Irish story-tellers? Two strands are twisted together, I think, in the Grail legend, one pagan and the other Christian.¹ The Christian element had begun to enter in our text of Chrétien, but does not the analogy of the St. Brendan story show that the pagan element going back to a cauldron of plenty was more fundamental?

The objection will be made that the different forms of the supernatural food episode in *Mailduin* have different origins and were based on different conceptions. It will be said that the episodes where a cleric or a hermit is in charge of the supernatural food² are Christian and are kept apart from the others, which are purely pagan.

But the various episodes are not kept apart by the Irish redactor; still less would they be by his hearers and readers. There is syncretism in all the more Christian episodes. The "great house of the king" where the Eucharist is celebrated is an Irish palace; traits of the Irish happy other world are present; the cup of plenty comes from a man sitting on the waves, who cannot well be other than Manannán. Service by invisible hands is a stock *imram* incident.

¹ That the Grail stories were always regarded by the church as somewhat heterodox seems a hint that they were of syncretic origin.

² *Mailduin*, sections 19, 20, 33; *Húi Corra*, section 73, and *Snedgus*, section 25.

It does not matter that the episodes grew up from different materials, partly from legends and from the Bible, partly from pagan Irish belief, perhaps partly from the *Aeneid* or the *Odyssey*. The point is that all the materials were fused together, confused together, if you like, by Celtic fancy, all passed through the crucible of Celtic imagination, and all this happened before the appearance of the Grail story.

If syncretism altered the episode of supernatural food into something resembling the Eucharist in the *Imram Maelduin*, the process could occur again in the Grail story. If Chrétien came into contact along with a heathen grail story with another version in which the vessel of plenty was partly ecclesiasticized, it would explain his calling the Fisher King's father a holy man.

The oldest account of the Grail, as is well known, occurs in Chrétien's unfinished *Perceval*, written about 1175. Chrétien's first and most important description of the Grail (vss. 2960-3573)¹ does not connect it with anything sacred or ecclesiastical. Some three thousand verses later in the story, Perceval's uncle, who was a hermit, is made to say that the father of "le roi Pesceour" is fed by a "seule oïste," brought to him in the Grail, which he calls a "sainte chose." So far as we can see, the entire connection of the Grail with the eucharistic feast and its later identification with the cup of the Last Supper sprang from these few lines of Chrétien (vss. 6379-93),² which contain the substance of this description by the hermit.³

(Le) riche pescheor roi
 6380 Qui filz est a celui, ce croi,
 Qui del graal servir se fait;
 E ne cuidez pas que il ait
 Luz ne lamproie ne saumons:
 D'une seule oïste, ce savons,
 Que l'an an ce graal aporte
 Sa vie sostient e conforte:
 Tant sainte chose est li graax
 E tant par est esperitax
 Qu'a sa vie plus ne covient

¹ Edited by Baist, Frelburg, privately printed; cf. Potvin's edition, vss. 4175-4788.

² Ed. Baist; in Potvin's edition, vss. 7791-7805.

³ According to Wolfram's *Parsival*, 470, 5, the Grail owed its power to an "oblât" which every year on Good Friday a white dove laid upon it.

6390 Que l'oïste qui el graal vient.
 Quinze anz a ja esté ensi
 Que hors de la chanbre n'issi
 Ou le graal veïs antrer.¹

Chrétien seems to regard the Fisher King's father as a kind of ascetic who practices austerity, "tant par est esperitax." All that we have here in Chrétien might easily have been suggested to him if his original had contained some story like section 73 of the *Húi Corra* or section 23 of the *Navigatio*. In both occurs the idea of long periods of time during which the hermit has subsisted on the supernatural food, fifteen years in Chrétien,² thirty years, and afterward sixty, in the *Navigatio*.

Chrétien expressly says that his Grail did not supply fish, "neither luce nor lamprey nor salmon." But since he gives no reason in the world why it should, his mention of fish seems inconsequential. Did not his original contain the same notion that the marvelous food of the hermit was fish which we observe in the *Navigatio*? And did not Chrétien blur over this mention of fish because it would not suit the taste of the French chivalric society for which he was writing? He has kept, however, what was doubtless the old title, "Fisher King," although in his narrative it has become almost meaningless. He explains that the king, on account of his lameness, sought recreation in fishing.

Robert de Boron's *Joseph* is important in this connection because, although he almost certainly wrote later than Chrétien, probably about 1198,³ yet he seems to have had access to a Grail book older than Chrétien, which was perhaps Chrétien's source or something like it. Boron says of his source:

929 Ge n'ose conter ne retreire
 Ne je ne le pourroie feire,

¹ If in place of the word *oïste* (vss. 6384, 6390) one could read the Irish word *iasc* (gen. *iasc*), "fish," it would fit the context extremely well. Did Chrétien write *iasc*, and did some copyist change the unknown word to *oïste*, helped perhaps by a mistaken reading? Or did Chrétien's presumably Latin original have the word *hostiam* which had been substituted for *iasc* by its monkish author who was guided by his knowledge that a fish might be a symbol for the consecrated host? These are mere guesses which derive a certain plausibility from the fact that all Celtic vessels of plenty which resemble the grail belong to the water-world (*Kittredge Anniversary Volume*, pp. 235 ff.), and therefore might easily be thought to supply fish as food.

² Twenty years, according to Potvin, vs. 7803.

³ Nitze, *PMLA*, XXIV, 370, n. 1.

Neis se je feire le voloie,
 Se je le grant livre n'avoie
 Ou les estoires sont escrites
 Par les granz clers feites et dites:
 Là sunt li grant secré escrit
 Qu'en numme le Graal et dit.¹

Boron seems to give evidence of an original association between the Grail and fish in a passage probably important, like that just quoted from Chrétien, because it is the first and only place in which Boron calls his sacred vessel the Grail.² It seems possible that at this place Boron's eye may have been on the "book" from which he got the strange word "Grail"³ and that just here some trace of his source may be preserved. He has doubtless modified his original to make it fit with his identification of the Grail and the cup of Joseph of Arimathea. The passage is as follows:

2659 Par droit Graal l'apelera;
 Car nus le Graal ne verra,
 Ce croi-je, qu'il ne li agrée:
 A touz ceus pleist de la contrée,
 A touz agrée et abelist.
 En li veoir hunt cil delist
 Qui avec lui pueent durer
 Et de sa compeignie user;
 Autant unt d'eise cum poisson
 Quant en sa mein le tient uns hon,
 Et de sa mein puet eschaper
 Et en grant iaue aler noer.

This description is put into the mouth of "Petrus" probably because Boron remembered that St. Peter was a fisherman. Yet even so the simile, "those who see the Grail have as much pleasure as a fish has, which a man holds in his hand, when it can escape from his hand and go swimming in the open water," seems queer and

¹ Quoted from Furnivall, *Seynt Graal*, Roxburghe Club, appendix to Vol. I.

² To make his *Joseph*, I suppose that Boron cobbled together, (1) a legend connected with Joseph of Arimathea, and (2) a Grail book which pictured the Grail as a cup that supplied a hermit daily with fish. This passage, vss. 2659-87, in which the word *graal* is repeated seven times, comes just after Boron has taken up (2). Elsewhere the word occurs only in vss. 936, 3336, 3432, 3487, and 3493, and is not applied to Joseph's *reissel précieux et grant*, except by inference in vss. 3431-32:

"Seisiz fu li riches Peschierres
 Dou Graal et touz commanderes."

³ On the word *graal*, see Nitze, *Mod. Phil.* XIII, 681-84.

uncalled for by anything in the context. May it not be a surviving trace of some inherent connection in Boron's source between the Grail and fish?

Boron does not make Petrus or anyone appointed by him the keeper of the Grail. Brons, the nephew of Joseph of Arimathea, is the Grail-keeper. Boron explains that Brons was called the "rich fisher" because he caught a fish at the command of Christ and placed it on a table beside the Grail.¹ This explanation of the title "Rich Fisher" seems almost as strained and unoriginal as Chrétien's of the title "Fisher King." Did not both Chrétien and Boron have a source in which the keeper of the Grail was an island hermit living on fish, or an ascetic who was fed by fish supplied from the Grail?—some incident, I mean, like that in section 33 of the *Navigatio*.

Doubtless it is a far cry from a *Wunschding* to the Holy Grail, and it is often objected that intermediate steps between *Tischleindeckdich* and Grail are lacking. In the paragraphs above it has been shown that within the *Imrama* a large number of connecting steps may be pointed out in what seems to be a gradual development of a fairy abode with a cauldron of plenty into a monastery of psalm-singing saints who are fed by angels. In view of the parallels set forth above, no one can assert that such intervening steps in the development of the Grail are difficult to imagine. It is clear that in Irish a story of a fairy abode with magic cup might have taken on a form which to Chrétien and his contemporaries would be likely to suggest an assimilation to the eucharist feast, and that it might have taken on this form before the time of Chrétien. It is useless to make a difficulty over how the story got from Ireland to France, or to delay to inquire whether Chrétien's intermediate originals were Latin or Welsh. Nobody can deny the possibility of the Grail story having made its way from Ireland to Chrétien, because we know that the St. Brendan story at about that same period got across from Ireland to France.

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¹ See vss. 2497 f., 3312 f., 3345 f.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF CERTAIN PROSE WORKS ASCRIBED TO ANTOINE DE LA SALE¹

I. *Les Quinze Joies de Mariage*

For a long time before the authorship of this work was discussed its date was the subject of considerable dispute. The only reliable manuscript (Rouen, 1464) is not original; the historical allusions are very vague; and the assertion in the "Avertissement" that the work was written "vers le milieu du 15^e siècle" is scarcely less so. In

¹ It may be convenient here to set out a list of the authentic works of La Sale with their dates, so far as these can be ascertained: (1) *La Salade*, ca. 1440; (2) *La Salle*, ca. 1451; (3) *Le Réconfort de Mme de Fresne*, 1458; (4) *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*, 1459; (5) *La Journée d'Onneur et de Prouesse*, 1459; (6) *Des Anciens Tournois et Faicts d'Armes*, 1459. Raynaud makes the date of *Saintré* 1454-56.

EDITIONS. *Les Quinze Joies de Mariage*: ed. Techener, 1837; ed. Jannet (Bibl. Elzéy.), 1853; ed. Heuckenkamp, 1901; ed. Dressler, 1903; ed. Fleig, 1903.

Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles: ed. Le Roux de Lincy, 1841; ed. Thos. Wright (Bibl. Elzéy.), 1858; ed. Lacroix, 1884; also *Les Dix Dizaines des C.N.N.*, 1874.

BOOKS AND REVIEWS: J. Nève, *Antoine de la Sale, Vie et Ouvrages*, 1903 (cf. review by Foerster, *Literaturblatt für germ. u. rom. Philologie*, 1903, No. 12); L. H. Labande, "Antoine de la Sale, Nouveaux Documents sur sa vie," *Bibl. de l'École de Chartes*, 1904; Carl Haag, "Antoine de la Sale und die ihm zugeschriebenen Werke," *Herrig's Archiv*, 1904, Vol. 113; *Une Enigme d'histoire littéraire: l'auteur des 15 joies de mariage*, Paris, 1903; Pietro Toldo, *Contributo allo studio della novella francese del 15 e 16 secolo*, Rome, 1895; Gaston Paris, "La Nouvelle Française au 15^e et 16^e Siècle," a review of Toldo in the *Journal des Savants*, 1895; H. Helleny, *Introduction to "Le Petit Jehan de Saintré"*, Paris, 1890; Marcel Lecourt, "Antoine de la Sale et Simon de Hesdin," pp. 341-53 of *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Chatelain*, Paris, 1910 (discusses Q. J. M. and maintains that Hesdin was drawn upon by La Sale); W. P. Shepard, "The Syntax of Antoine de la Sale," *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, XX (1905), 405-501 (cf. the treatise *Zur Syntax des Verbums bei A. de la Sale*, etc., Erlangen, 1907); J. W. Söderhjelm, *La Nouvelle française au 15^e Siècle*, 1910 (in this book the works in question and their authorship are discussed in some detail; Söderhjelm's other works on La Sale, *Notes sur Antoine de la Sale et ses Œuvres* [1908], on the authentic works, and *Les Inspirateurs des Quinze Joies de Mariage* [1909], are so useful for reference that they must be included in any bibliography of La Sale or his works); Georges Doutrepont, *La Littérature française à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1909, pp. 339 ff. (on the C.N.N.); Gaston Paris, *Légendes du Moyen Age*, 1903 (see beginning of chapter on "Le Paradis de la Reine Sybille"), pp. 66 ff.; W. von Wurzbach, *Geschichte des französischen Romans*, 1912; Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, 1895; Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, 1151-54; Ernest Gossart, *La Sale, sa Vie et ses Œuvres*, Brussels, 1902 (a reprint of an article in the *Publications de la Société des Bibliophiles de Belgique*, 1871); W. Küchler, "Die Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles—Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der französischen Novelle," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 1906, pp. 264-331; G. Raynaud in *Romania*, XXXI, 527 ff., and XXXIII, 101 ff.; J. Bédier in *Romania*, XXXIII, 438 ff.; J. Stecher, "Les Deux La Salle," in *Athenaeum Belge*, 1883, p. 167; M. Magnin, in *Journal des Savants* 1856; P. Lacroix in *Bulletin du Bouquiniste*, 1859; L. Stern "Versuch über Antoine de la Sale des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Vol. XLVI, 1870; O. Grojean, Review of Raynaud's *Romania* article in *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique*, 1902.

the early eighteenth century, one La Monnoye proposed 1450, and this has been generally accepted, though some—e.g., Le Duchat, 1726, who still has followers—would ascribe an earlier date for the work by twenty or thirty years.

The arguments in favor of La Sale's authorship may be presented as follows:

1. In 1830, André Pottier, a librarian of Rouen, discovered that some riddling lines at the end of the book might be explained as a declaration by La Sale of his authorship.¹ The theory was supported by Antoine's known fondness for punning on his name—cf. *La Salade*—and by considerations of time—his treatise *La Salle* being assigned to the year 1451—which would apply either to 1450 or to the earlier date.

The theory was opposed by Magnin (*Journal des Savants*, 1856); by Lacroix (*Bulletin du Bouquiniste*, 1859), who suggested Lemonde, the supposed author of the *Grand Jubilé de Milan*, and by Nève, in 1881. The latter objected (1) that the last four lines of the charade are unexplained, (2) that the second part of each word to be decapitated is supplied quite arbitrarily. The second objection, which would apply to many such enigmas, has not been taken seriously. The first was answered by Génin's discovery of the word *semond* (= *enseigne*) in the concluding part of the verse, so that the whole solution reads "La Sale semond."

Pottier's conjecture was supported strongly by Jannet (1853), Stern (1870), and Gossart (1871); the last-named also adduced other proofs of La Sale's authorship. Pottier's, however, remains the strongest, no other explanation of the charade having been seriously opposed to it.

2. Gossart (*Bibliophile Belge*, 1871) found a passage in *La Salle* which is not only paralleled by several quotations from the *Quinze Joies*, but which has clearly been inspired by a fragment from the

¹ They are:

De l'abbé la teste oustez
Tresvistement devant le monde
Et samere decapitez
Tantost et apres laseconde
Toutes trois a mese vendront
Sans teste bien chantée et dicte
Le monde avec elle tendront
Sur deux piez qui le tout acquite.

A note after this says: "En ces huit lignes trouverez le nom de celui qui a dictes les XV joies de mariage. . . ." The italics in the verse quotation are, of course, my own.

Contra Jovinianum of St. Jerome, one of La Sale's favorite authors. Gossart's argument, convincingly put forward, is that in *La Salle* the author was treating themes which he afterward developed in the *Quinze Joies*. Stern (*Archiv f. N.S. u. L.*, 1870), also draws striking conclusions from comparisons between the *Quinze Joies*, St. Jerome, a passage in *Jehan de Saintré*. On the other side it is urged (and quite rightly so) that the *Quinze Joies* is almost certainly earlier than *La Salle* (though most critics agree, both in view of Gossart's collation and for other reasons, that the difference of time between them is but slight), and further that Antoine, in the latter work, may just as possibly have been borrowing from someone else as quoting from his own work. Söderhjelm adds that La Sale's touch is much lighter, and his art less sure in the *Joies* than in *La Salle*; if he had been copying from himself in the latter work he would surely have done it a great deal better!

3. La Sale is known to have spent a large part of his life in the south of France, and there occur in the *Quinze Joies* many expressions which are used only in the South. The influence of the Picard dialect can also be traced in the *Joies*, and La Sale was in the service of René d'Anjou, a courtier of Philippe le Bon, and an ornament of the court of the Dauphin (afterward Louis XI) at Genappe; therefore he probably passed much time in the Low Countries.

4. Stylistic evidence has been brought forward on both sides of the question.¹ Stern (*op. cit.*) collates passages from *Saintré* and the doubtful works, but Nève rejects these, saying that the same phrases occur again and again in *Maitre Pierre Pathelin* and in the works of Villon. He also invokes similarity of language, ideas, and spirit between the *Quinze Joies* and La Sale's known writings. Chivalry and knightly courage, he says, are praised as much as in *Saintré*; the humorous appearance of the monk in the *Quinze Joies* reminds us of Damp Abbé; the satire on women recalls the ending of *Saintré*. "Darum," concludes Stern, after quoting numerous passages, "wird hinfort niemand mehr mit Billigkeit zweifeln können, ob La Sale der Autor der fünfzehn Ehefreuden sei; denn er ist es so

¹ Among other students, Mr. W. P. Shepard has studied La Sale's syntax (see Bibliography). But his results sometimes disagree with known facts and have not gained general acceptance (cf. e.g., Söderhjelm, *op. cit.*, p. 34). Further and more detailed syntactical study is badly needed.

gewiss, wie er der des kleinen Hans von Saintré ist." Nève, on the other hand asserts (1903), that in his five authentic works La Sale is a typical man of the Middle Ages, unaffected by his travels in Italy, untroubled by skepticism, an aristocrat, an altruist, an optimist. In the *Quinze Joies*—as also in the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*—he is "sensuel, sceptique, bourgeois et ricaner." Nève cites in support of this the words of Gaston Paris.¹ To ascribe this double personality, so clearly revealed, to a versatile temperament with which we endow La Sale for the purpose, says Nève, is simply begging the question.² He carries on the attack by citing that, while La Sale's style in the authentic works is neither incisive nor alert, the two doubtful works, "écrites d'une plume vive et mordante, font éclater à chaque ligne une verve impitoyable, un incorrigible scepticisme" (*op. cit.*, p. 78).

It is clear that we must either leave stylistic evidence out of the question altogether or collect it in a much more methodical and impartial way than has been done up to the present. Söderhjelm seems to think the former alternative the safer; he passes lightly over "le ton général," "les tendances de l'auteur," and "la façon de raconter," because he finds in these things so many undoubted resemblances and equally undoubted differences between the *Quinze Joies de Mariage* and the authentic writings, that a judgment is impossible. Sufficient stress does not seem to have been laid on La Sale's dramatic nature, which led him to adopt many points of view and to write in many different tones. But when the *Quinze Joies* has been more carefully collated with the other works, the resemblances may prove too strong to be thus accounted for.

The argument against La Sale's authorship may be stated thus:

1. In the Prologue to the *Quinze Joies* the author declares that he is not married, but that "il a plu à Dieu le mettre en un autre servage, hors de franchise qu'il ne peut plus recouvrer." This, say several critics, certainly refers to the service of the church; but La Sale was

¹ "Où ce voyageur, ce lettré, ce familier des princes, avait-il appris à connaître par le menu la vie bourgeoise, telle qu'il la peint avec une si consciencieuse et si amusante minutie dans ces quinze petits tableaux d'intérieur?"—*Poésie du Moyen Âge*, 1895.

² But in another passage, too long to quote (*Légendes du Moyen Âge*, pp. 67-69), Gaston Paris makes no doubt that La Sale was really possessed of this remarkable versatility, and, treating as authentic both the works here under discussion, draws a most interesting literary portrait of the supposed author.

a layman. Stern, however, well remarks that it may refer to the house of Anjou, of which La Sale was for many years a devoted servant.

2. Söderhjelm attaches importance to the mention of the *Quinze Joies* as "old" in the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (ca. 1462); to the allusions in the *Quinze Joies* to costume of a much earlier date than 1450; and to the reference in chaps. v and viii to the "Dauphin du Viennois," a fourteenth-century title. Each of these facts, on the other hand, can be explained satisfactorily, and no critic considers them of other than collective significance.

II. *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*

The date of this collection is usually considered to be 1461, the stories having been told between 1456 and 1461. Stern, from internal evidence, with considerable probability, puts the date a year later (1462).

I first present the arguments in favor of La Sale's authorship:¹

1. The attribution of the *Nouvelles* to La Sale, first made by Le Roux de Lincy (1841), appears to have gathered most weight from evidence as ingenious as Pottier's solution of the charade just mentioned. On the face of it, La Sale, who figures by name only as relating the fiftieth story, is no more likely to have been the author of the collection than any of the thirty-four other persons to whom individual stories are assigned. But the stories numbered 51, 91, 92, 98, and 99 are attributed to *l'acteur* (= *l'auteur*). Now, it is argued (Wright, 1853), that if this author were La Sale, the tales which he attributes to himself would be arranged in groups of two, and how appropriate that would be!

A somewhat slender piece of evidence! But no one who has studied the controversy can doubt that it has had great influence with the critics. The reply of those who will not accept this theory of La Sale's authorship is that, though curious, it is not sufficient to warrant such an assumption, especially as No. 50 is admittedly one of the worst of the tales, and not one which the editor would choose

¹ By "authorship" is meant here the fashioning and editing of the tales in general, and the composition of those not borrowed from other sources. How much of each story—if any—we owe to the person whose name appears at its head must always be a matter of doubt.

for the purpose of declaring himself—though, again, some of La Sale's partisans attribute this to his modesty!

2. About sixteen of the tales are inspired by Poggio's *Facetiae*, and La Sale may easily have come under Poggio's influence when he was in Rome. But this is pure guesswork; and, further, the *Facetiae* was not published until 1450, whereas the meeting, if there was one, would have taken place in 1422 (Nève).

3. The subject of the ninety-eighth tale is the same as that of the romance of *Floridam and Eluide*, of which Rasse de Brunhamel, (also called Brinchamel), had dedicated a translation to La Sale (Stern). But why, it may be asked in reply, should not another editor have taken it? At best this would be only a small coincidence.

4. Doutrepoint (see Bibliography) considers that of all the writers who are known to have been at or near Philip's court about 1460, La Sale is the only one capable of having edited the collection. To this argument may be added a general probability in favor of La Sale. He was a well-known and generally esteemed writer (cf. Brunhamel's dedication, quoted below), stood in cordial relations to the court of Burgundy, and was actually at Genappe at the time in question, since he dated *Saintré* from Genappe in 1459. It would therefore be quite natural that the collection should be given to him to edit. Against this it cannot be too forcibly urged that in 1462 La Sale was an old man of seventy-four, and that the fashioning of such a collection as the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* would be a considerable task.

5. Here, too, stylistic evidence is adduced both for and against La Sale. Stern cites similarities between the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* and La Sale's authentic works; Gaston Paris adds that they might be multiplied. Söderhjelm points out resemblances between the collection and *Saintré*; while Shepard, comparing the *Nouvelles* and *Saintré*, thinks it impossible that they can have had the same author. Doutrepoint, in speaking of these contradictions (*op. cit.*, p. 340), remarks that more thorough investigation of the works in question is necessary before any authoritative stylistic evidence can be adduced.

The tone of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* differs considerably from that of La Sale's authentic works. The variety, which exists

in these works themselves, however, would lead one to expect a change of tone in a work of the character of the *Nouvelles*. Söderhjelm claims that "La Sale est sans doute plus artiste, plus psychologue, plus fin que l'auteur de la plupart des 'Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles.'" But a falling off in literary quality—which is what this amounts to—might reasonably be expected in a man of seventy-four, if once it be granted that such a man was capable of making the collection at all.

A great deal more has been written on the style of the *Nouvelles*, but, as it tends to be rhetorical rather than critical in nature, it seems unnecessary to summarize it.

III. Summary

The present state of the controversy may be summarized thus:

When the two works which have been discussed were first attributed to La Sale, the theory of his authorship took root at once, nobody before Nève seriously disputing it. Stern's attitude toward the question in 1870 may be taken as typical. The *Quinze Joies* he describes as La Sale's *chef-d'œuvre*; he considers the authorship of both works certain; and only stays in his exposition of the *Nouvelles* to drive home "a few striking reasons."

Besides crediting La Sale with these two works, over and above those known to be his, critics now began to ascribe others to him, with the result that, whereas at the beginning of the nineteenth century he was hardly known, he had to his credit at its close practically all the French prose of any note dating from the late Middle Ages.

Génin and others attributed to La Sale the farce of Pathelin. Raynaud (*Romania*, Vol. XXXI) would have made him author of the *Livre des Faits de Jacques de Lalaing*,¹ comparing it with *Saintré*, and finding in it references to that work. Kervyn de Lettenhove wished to give La Sale the prose chronicle of *Duquesclin*. No doubt the merit and variety of La Sale's authentic works, and Rasse de Brunhamel's dedicatory tribute to him—"dès le temps de votre fleurie jeunesse vous estes délecté à lire aussi à écrire histoires honorables"—account largely for our author's popularity at this time. At all events, the process went on until the end of the nineteenth

¹ The *Livre des Faits* is more commonly attributed to Georges Chastellain. Opposed to this theory of Raynaud's are M. Bayot and M. Oscar Grojean.

century, and in spite of the reaction—led by Joseph Nève—Raynaud, Stern, Gaston Paris,¹ and others held fast to La Sale as the author both of the *Quinze Joies* and of the *Nouvelles*.

In the early years of the present century the reaction set in in earnest. Not only did M. Bayot, M. Oscar Grojean, and others oppose the attribution to La Sale of the less likely works, with the result that some of the theories came to be discredited, but many critics began to doubt whether La Sale had indeed written the *Quinze Joies*, and had had more than a hand in the *Nouvelles*. It was about this time that the syntactical and other stylistic researches were made. Kùchler (1906) considered that Shepard and Nève had shattered all the claims made for La Sale as the compiler of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, and recommended that we waste no more time in ascribing works to Antoine which he could not have written.²

The works of Doutrepont and Söderhjelm in the *Bibliothèque du 15^e Siècle* (1909 and 1910, respectively), show the effect of the reaction. Both writers display an unwillingness to dogmatize which is quite a new feature in the controversy, both remark on the need for further illumination, and Söderhjelm leaves the question of authorship quite open.³

Critical opinion is then in a suitable state to receive the results of further careful investigations. Probably a thorough stylistic and syntactical study of La Sale's authentic works and a comparison with them of the doubtful works will before long be undertaken, leading eventually to that *travail d'ensemble* for which Raynaud was hoping in 1906. Until we have this evidence it is of little use to dogmatize.

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¹ Cf. *Légendes du Moyen Age*, p. 67, where the authorship is taken for granted.

² "Wer noch länger die Diskussion fortsetzen will, muss unumstösslich beweisen können, dass Antoine de la Sale ganz gewiss der Verfasser auch der "Quinze Joies de Mariage" oder der "Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles" war. Wer nicht an die Verfasserschaft la Sales glaubt, kann fürderhin Zeit und Papier sparen, und sich positiveren Dingen zuwenden."—*Op. cit.*, p. 265. Kùchler is followed by Wurzbach (1913), who does not, however, do more than mention the controversy.

³ The present writer's opinion may here be stated. It is that Pottier's solution of the charade, though not in itself absolutely conclusive, is made practically so by the remainder of the evidence, while, on the other hand, the case for La Sale's authorship of the *Nouvelles*, though demanding consideration, is not yet established. No attempt has been made in this article, however, to enforce these views.

END CONSONANTS AND BREATH-CONTROL IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH

In this article I desire to point out one essential and fundamental characteristic of French pronunciation.

If the phenomena of pronunciation were thoroughly understood, it would be possible for us to eradicate all traces of English accent in speaking French. The science of phonetics has usually failed, however, when applied to the teaching of French *l* and *r*. In my own experience, after years of work, faulty *l* and *r* remained. The manuals of Viëtor, Rousselot, and others had been assiduously studied and conscientiously followed, but even after long private instruction the incorrect pronunciation of *l* and *r* persisted when either of these consonants stood before another consonant or was final.

Especially had I tried to follow Abbé Rousselot in my efforts to correct my pronunciation of *l*. He describes *l* as follows: French *l*—s'articule avec la langue appuyée par la pointe sur le palais dans la région des dents et vibrant par les côtés sous l'effort de l'air aspiré. Elle est sonore dès le début.

Il ne semble pas que les variétés qu'on observe dans les points d'appui aient une valeur acoustique sensible, à moins que la pointe de la langue ne vienne s'appliquer trop en arrière, comme cela se produit chez les Anglais et surtout chez les Américains. . . . L'*l* française n'est jamais vocalique comme en Anglais.¹

Abbé Rousselot ascribes the distinctive quality of French *l* to the position of the tongue during its production. I had experimented with the artificial palate² and in experiment the position of the tongue seemed correct; but as the sound of *l* was not satisfactory in reading and conversation, I assumed that for some reason the position was still faulty. While trying to correct the position, it occurred to me that as I had never been corrected for *l* at the beginning of a word or syllable all that would be necessary to obtain the correct position would be to make of final *l* an initial *l*. With this in mind, I practiced *fil* as follows: I said *fi*, then held the tongue and jaw in the position of *i* for some time after I had stopped all expulsion of air from the

¹ Rousselot, *Précis de prononciation française*, p. 58.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

lungs, and, consequently, all production of sound; then, putting the tongue in position for *l*, I said *le*. After practicing for half an hour, I had acquired a muscular feeling for the movements involved; I pronounced *fi l'* rapidly, the space indicating a momentary stoppage of breath, and the apostrophe the explosion of the consonant. After a month's practice and care, I was no longer corrected for *l* by anyone. Using the false palate, I found too that I could now pronounce French *l* in the English position and English *l* in the French position. This seemed to indicate that the difference of position was not fundamental, but only incidental, and that the acoustic difference must be largely due to something else.

Similarly, I had never succeeded in pronouncing French *r* at the end of a word or before a consonant. Some months after correcting *l*, it occurred to me that there would be no harm in practicing *r* in the same manner. I chose (*je*) *parle* for this purpose, pronouncing slowly and carefully *pa r' le*, the space indicating a momentary stoppage of breath and the apostrophe the explosion of the consonant, while the *e* was "mute" *e*. The results were immediate and satisfactory, as in the case of *l*.

In these experiences with *r* and *l*, movement seemed of greater importance than position, and, believing that a comparative study of the mechanism of English and French pronunciation would give better results than an isolated study of either language, I began the following and other experiments with the *appareil inscripteur*¹ at the laboratory of experimental phonetics directed by Abbé Rousselot at the Collège de France.

In the experiments here described, the upper line, *N*, gives the vibrations of the larynx taken through the nose; the second line, *M*, the vibrations from the mouth; the lower line, *T*, the movement of the tongue. The vibrations from the nose, collected by means of a glass olive placed in one nostril (the other being left free), passed through a rubber tube into a shallow brass drum covered with india rubber, to which was attached a long lever bearing a gold pen that inscribed the vibrations on the smoked-paper surface of the cylinder of the apparatus. The vibrations from the mouth were obtained similarly, by speaking into a mouthpiece; and the movement of the

¹ For a description of the *appareil inscripteur*, see Rousselot, *Principes de Phontique*, I, 61-101, or *Précis de prononciation française*, p. 14.

tongue was obtained by placing a small rubber bulb in the mouth at the point where the tongue approaches the hard palate, a perforation in the mouthpiece permitting it to be connected with the drum carrying the inscribing lever. The ascent of the line *T* corresponds

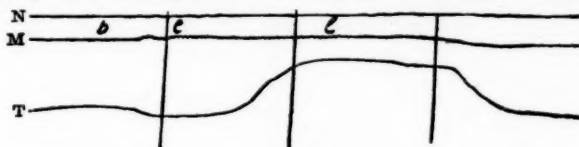


Fig. 1a

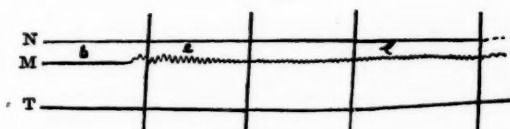


Fig. 1b

to the upward movement of the tongue toward the hard palate. To make the record permanent, the smoked paper was removed from the cylinder and varnished.

Fig. 1a presents a curve for French *l* (in *bel*) of considerable magnitude; the curve ascends rapidly, is held a moment, then descends rapidly. Fig. 1b offers a curve for English *l* (in *bell*) of little magnitude and of long, slow ascent.

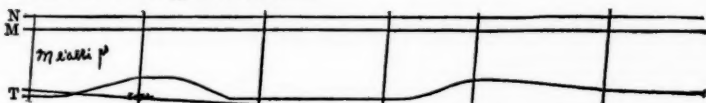


Fig. 1Ia

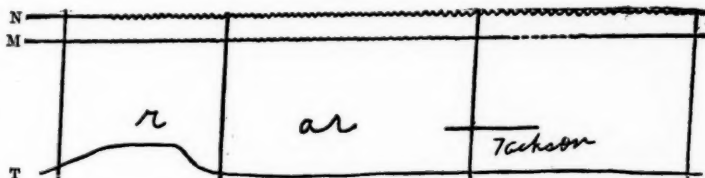


Fig. 1Ib

Fig. 1Ia represents Abbé Rousselot's pronunciation of the French word *rare*; and Fig. 1Ib, Mr. Jackson's (American) pronunciation of the English word *rare*.

Abbé Rousselot describes French *r* as follows:

L'*r* est un son vibrant qui peut se produire tout le long du canal vocal, des lèvres à l'isthme du gosier: de là ses nombreuses variétés. Elle est sonore en français dès le début. L'*r* traditionnelle se prononce avec la pointe de la langue redressée vers le palais.

Cette *r* est encore très commune. C'est celle que les professeurs du Conservatoire ont enseignée jusqu'à ces derniers temps aux Parisiens qui se destinent au théâtre.

Elle est, suivant les régions, plus ou moins roulée; mais elle doit l'être modérément.

L'*r grasseyée* ou *parisienne* se prononce la langue étendue sur le plancher de la bouche, la pointe raidie et arc-boutée contre les dents d'en-bas, la luette projetée en avant. Les vibrations sont celles du dos de la langue et des bords de l'isthme du gosier.¹

As French *r* is usually trilled and as there are many varieties, it would seem that in order to escape unfavorable criticism an American would need but to trill *r*, either with the tip of the tongue or in the throat. Abbé Rousselot pronounces *r* with the tip of the tongue, and his *r* in no way offends Parisians; but trill *r* as he will, an American's *r* before a consonant or at the end of a word is rarely satisfactory.



Fig. IIIa

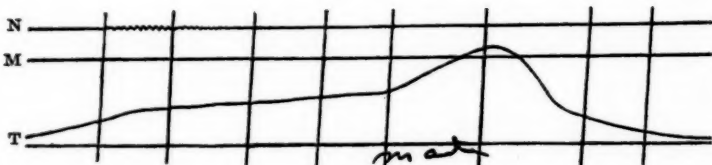


Fig. IIIb

The American subject for IIIa pronounced *made*; IIIb is the Abbé Rousselot's pronunciation of the same word. Here, as for

¹ Rousselot, *Précis de prononciation française*, pp. 56, 57.

l and *r*, the characteristic English and French curves occur at the end of the word.

Why have these final consonants in the English words less amplitude of curve than in the corresponding French words? The upward movement of the tongue begins earlier in the English sounds and continues through a greater period of time than in the French. English subjects move the tongue through the position of the various vowels, pronouncing continuously; French subjects take the position of the vowel definitely and with precision, hold that position during the duration of the vowel, then shift quickly, and pronounce the following consonant by means of an explosion, voiced for the voiced consonants, unvoiced for the mute consonants, but always following the consonant (cf. the *d* of English *and*, and the final *t* of *ant*, *contact*). The movement of the tongue in French, being sudden, as shown by the curve of the line *T* in Figs. Ia, IIa, and IIIb, imparts sufficient momentum to the inscribing lever to produce a curve of considerable amplitude; the movement of the tongue in English, beginning early and being slow and gradual, produces a curve of slight amplitude. This becomes clearer if one considers the analogous action of a camera shutter: if the camera bulb is compressed slowly, the shutter more often than not will not open, the air having had time to escape through the joints of the apparatus; on the contrary, if the bulb is compressed quickly, the shutter will open wide. That the difference of amplitude in the curves is not due to a difference of energy in the pronunciation of the two languages appears from a comparison of the curves of beginning consonants (cf. the initial *k*'s in Figs. IVa and IVb),¹

¹ Ordinarily it has been thought that French possessed implosive (final) consonants; and the difference between implosive (final) and explosive (initial) consonants has been explained as follows: "On dit que la tension est forte lorsque les organes se contractent fortement; on dit qu'elle est faible dans le cas contraire. . . .

"Lorsqu'une voyelle est suivie d'une consonne: *ap, af, am*, etc., la détente de la voyelle se confond avec la tension de la consonne. La tension ou l'implosion de la consonne est forte, sa détente ou explosion est faible. Elle peut même manquer si le souffle ou la voix s'arrêtent avant que les organes aient quitté leur position d'articulation. En français, avant une pause, la détente manque souvent dans les constrictives: *hôtel, fila*. Il en est de même dans les occlusives nasales: *madame, bonne*."—Roudet, *Éléments de Phonétique Générale*, p. 168. See also Rousselot, *Phonétique expérimentale*, I, 348, and Sievers, *Phonetik*, pp. 34, 174. If this explanation were true, in Fig. IVa the movement of the tongue would produce a greater curve for *n* in *contact* (English) than for *t* (Fig. IVb) in *contact* (French), as *n* is implosive and *t* explosive, and, in reality, owing to the slight difference in position, the tongue travels through a greater space in English than in French. But this is neither true here nor in similar cases elsewhere. Also, no experiment has offered an implosive (final) consonant in French.

where the movement of the tongue is as sudden in English as in French, and of the end *t* pronounced initially in *contact* (Figs. IVa and IVb).

And and *ant* (no figure) present curves very similar to the curve for medial *nt* in English *contact* (Fig. IVb). In *and* and *ant*, *n* is a final consonant, the sound being produced while the tongue is taking and holding the position; but, as the position of the tongue for *n* and *t* and *d* is the same, in taking the position for *n* the tongue interrupts

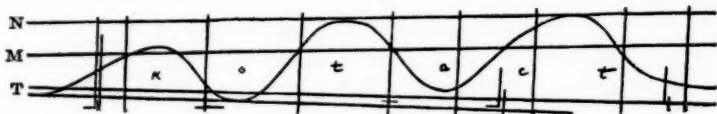


Fig. IVa

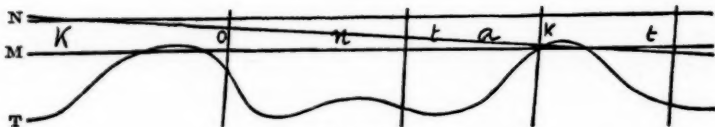


Fig. IVb

the current of air where it would otherwise be interrupted to produce the following *t* or *d*. *N* is produced while taking the position, and *t* or *d* while leaving the same position. The explosion of the *t* or *d* may be distinctly heard when the words are pronounced. If an attempt is made to suppress the explosion, the *t* or *d* will be suppressed at the same time. In English *contact*, the tongue does not intercept the current of air for *k* at the point where it would be intercepted for *t*, but farther back in the mouth, and, in this and similar cases, one may not only hear the explosion after the *t*, but note the large curve of the line *T* characteristic of initial consonants (Fig. IVb).

Medial *t* in the French word *contact* presents a curve (Fig. IVa) similar in amplitude to that of *k* at the beginning of the word, or of *t* at the end of it; in the English word the medial *nt* presents a very slight curve, but the final *t* offers a curve of great amplitude, thus presenting a seeming exception to the rule, as shown in the previous experiments. In view of the slight amplitude of the medial *nt* in English *contact* (Fig. IVb) and of the slight amplitude of the end

consonants in the first experiments, how is this large amplitude of the final *t* in English *contact* to be explained? In pronouncing English *contact*, one will observe the following process: while pronouncing the vowel *o*, the tongue is gradually moved into position back of the upper front teeth for *n*; *n* is produced while the tongue is taking and holding this position; on leaving this same position, *t* is pronounced. The final *t* of English *contact* (Fig. IVb), however, is not produced like medial *n*, while the tongue is taking and maintaining the required position, but while the tongue is maintaining and leaving the position; Fig. IVb offers an accident in English pronunciation: *k* preceding the end *t* is pronounced with the usual mechanism—while taking and holding the position; but incident to its production there is the shutting off of the whole current of air, thus rendering impossible the production of the end *t* in the same manner as the medial *n*, that is, by means of the preceding vowel and while taking and maintaining the required position; the final *t* must be pronounced, if at all, by means of a following explosion. For *t* and voiceless consonants this explosion is voiceless; for *d* in *and*, *cold*, and for voiced consonants in general the explosion is voiced.

In the manner of their production, the end *t* of *contact* (English) and the *d* of *and*, *cold*, are not final consonants at all, but initial. In this connection it is interesting to observe that many pronounce *contac* instead of *contact*, *an* instead of *and*. The pronunciation of an end consonant with the mechanism of a beginning consonant is contrary to the habits of English speech.

All end consonants in French, if analyzed with respect to the manner of their production, are not final at all, but initial, that is, produced by means of a following explosion. If this explosion occurs voiced, with the lips slightly advanced, it is mute *e*; if it takes place with the lips in a neutral position or unvoiced, it is heard as part of the consonant in the same manner as the explosion of *d*, *t*, in English *and*, *ant*. In English words the end consonants are normally final or produced by means of the preceding vowel while the vocal organs are assuming and maintaining the position characteristic of the consonant; initial consonants occur in English at the end of a word as the result of a phonetic necessity only, brought about by an accidental combination of consonants.

In the middle or at the end of a word does a Frenchman pronounce a double consonant? Is it not necessary that he produce a consonant while taking and maintaining the position as well as while maintaining and leaving the position? For instance, in pronouncing French *fat*, the tongue on assuming the *t* position stops the passage

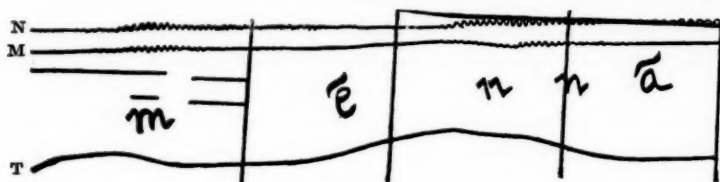


Fig. Va

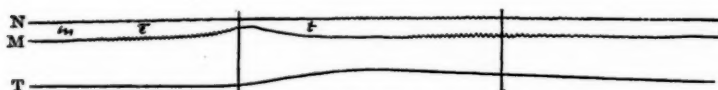


Fig. Vb

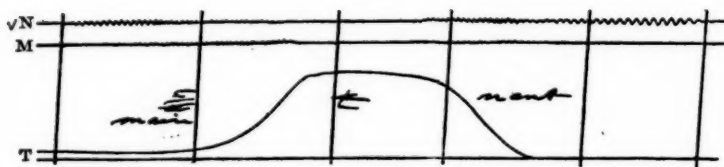


Fig. Vc

through the mouth, and, if the breath is not stopped from the lungs while the *t* position is being taken, final *t* is produced unavoidably. Does the Frenchman say *fa*, then stop the expulsion of air from the lungs while shifting the tongue into the *t* position, then produce pressure back of the tongue by expelling the air from the lungs again, and then release that pressure by withdrawing the tongue from the *t* position? Does the Englishman pronounce while shifting the position of tongue, jaw, etc., and while expelling the air from the lungs continuously?

This problem of breath-control is difficult of solution, as there are no instruments of sufficient delicacy and rapidity of action to register such a momentary stoppage of breath. This becomes

especially evident when it is recalled that any movement imparted to the apparatus tends to persist for a time after the exciting cause has ceased to operate. In Figs. *Va*, *Vb*, and *Vc*, however, the difficulty is avoided. Fig. *Va* is an example of a very frequent English pronunciation of *maintenant* and of all English words containing a nasal vowel followed by *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *p*, *b*. The slight curve of the line *T* indicates that *t* was pronounced by means of the preceding vowel while the tongue was assuming the *t* position, that is, the *t* is a final *t*. At the moment when the tongue reached the *t* position the soft palate was still lowered, permitting the air to pass through the nose for nasal *è*; but, since the difference between *n* and *t* is first that *n* is voiced, *t* mute, and then that for *t* the air passes through the mouth and for *n* through the nose, the English habit of pronunciation produces mechanically an *n* not intended by the speaker; this *n* may be seen in the large vibrations of the line *N*.

The expulsion of air could have been continuous (English mechanism of breath-control) and the *n* still avoided had the speaker closed the passage to the nose by means of the soft palate an instant before the closure made by the tongue was complete. Fig. *Vb* is an example of this; the upward curve of the line *M* is due to increased pressure on the rubber membrane over the drum at the moment when the tongue passes into the *t* position; in line *N* the vibrations stop at the moment of closure of the soft palate, but continue in line *M* until the tongue has taken position for *t*.

Fig. *Vc* offers the only other means possible of avoiding an *n* after a nasal vowel and before *t*. The large amplitude of the curve of the line *T* for *t* indicates that the *t* is initial. The slight downward tendency of the line *M* as the tongue assumes the *t* position indicates a decrease in air pressure (contrast with upward movement in Figs. *Va* and *Vb*), and the vibrations are seen to persist longer in the nose than in the mouth. This latter phenomenon is due to the fact that though the air has been stopped from the lungs, the vibrations already set up tend to persist longer in the comparatively closed passage of the nose than in the more open passage of the mouth.

Thus, in English, the expulsion of breath is continuous, transitions are long and gradual, and final consonants are the rule at the end of words; in French, an end consonant is preceded by a momentary

stoppage of breath and followed by an explosion, and transitions are made rapidly during this momentary stoppage of breath. In other words, *English* possesses "initial" and "final" consonants; *French*, "initial" consonants only, even at the end of a word.

Experiments would seem to indicate that what appeared true of *r* and *l* in the exercises for their correction (*fil, parle*) is true not only of *r* and *l*, and of all other French consonants, but that it is true also of all consonants of the Romance and Slav languages, and that what has been said of English consonants is characteristic of the Germanic group of languages.

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TWO NOTES OF MADAME DE STAËL

Madame de Staël owed much of her achievement to her environment and associations. The Revolution and the Empire stimulated into sharp activity her talents for diplomacy and intrigue. Benjamin Constant's love brought inspiration which the financial genius of her Genevan father could not give. The intellectual companionship of Crabb Robinson and A. W. Schlegel contributed to her *Germany* almost all of such of its ideas as she did not receive directly, in more or less confusion, from the greater minds of Goethe and Schiller. The friendship of Sir James Mackintosh gave her monumental book a considerable part of its vogue in England. And the hostility of Napoleon made Madame de Staël famous all over Europe.

Because the men whom she knew did in many cases have an influence upon her literary works and reputation, the advent of a new figure in even the outermost circle of her acquaintance assumes importance for the student of the significance of Madame de Staël. Therefore the two notes printed below seem worth preserving. They are two messages from Madame de Staël, one to a French enemy and the other to an English friend.

The first, evidently an inclosure in a letter to an intimate acquaintance, Benjamin Constant perhaps, represents an indignant note sent by the great lady to a literary poltroon who had betrayed her confidence. The false listener, M. Charles François Philibert Masson, was a man of letters of no mean repute at the turn of the century. His epic concerning the rebellion of the Swiss against the power of Charles the Bold was brought to the attention of the Emperor at a meeting of the Academy on January 4, 1800. This epic, *Les Helvétiens*, Madame de Staël mentions. His ode on the foundation of the Republic was crowned by the Institut on October 7, 1801. Even more generally known, though probably less worthy of popularity, were his *Secret Memoirs* of the Russian court, which indeed have been widely circulated in English translation.¹ Varying

¹ For a concise statement of facts concerning the literary career of Masson see: *Tableau de la littérature française 1800-1815*, par Gustave Merlet. Première partie: *Mouvement religieux, philosophique et poétique* (3d ed., Paris, Didier); pp. 168, 520.

critical estimates of Masson give a fair notion of his real significance. The writer of the preface to the first English edition of his translated *Secret Memoirs of the Court of Petersburg* declares that the portraits of the principal personages are "drawn by the hand of a master," and finds the delineation of the various characters "marked by a superior degree of accuracy and judgment."¹ The biographer for *La grande Encyclopédie* comments upon Charles François Philibert Masson and his elder brother André Pierre in a single paragraph, the only critical statement of which is, "ils ont écrit de mauvais poèmes"; he adds, however, the remark that the younger brother published memoirs of Russia, "très sujets à caution." The biographical notice of Masson in the *Biographie universelle* opens with the characterization of its subject as "littérateur auquel il n'a peut-être manqué que des circonstances plus favorables pour obtenir une réputation durable."

The principal facts in the life of Charles François Philibert Masson can be summed up very briefly.² He was born at Blamont in 1762. His birth year has been recorded as 1761 also, or 1764.³ He was early apprenticed to a clockmaker, and at the age of seventeen went to Switzerland to perfect himself in his craft. There, being tormented by the demon of poetry, he published in the *Mercurie helvétique* during 1780 poems which, his biographer thinks, deserved encouragement. In 1786 he went to Russia, where his brother André had already earned prestige as a soldier. Through princely patronage, Charles Masson rose rapidly, until in 1795 he was senior major of the grenadiers of the Grand Duke Alexander and husband of a court lady, the Baroness Rosen. Then, with the accession of Paul I, came the fall of the house of Masson. In December, 1796, the two brothers were exiled from Russia. As *émigrés*, they dared not go home to France; Charles therefore took advantage of the asylum which his protector, the Count of Lehndorf, offered him in Poland. There the disgraced courtier busied himself with writing memoirs;

¹ *Secret Memoirs of the Court of Petersburg: Particularly toward the End of the Reign of Catharine II and the Commencement of That of Paul I, Serving as a Supplement to the Life of Catharine II* (translation from the French, 2d ed., London, 1801), p. lii.

² Michaud, *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, etc. (2d ed.), XXVII, 237-38.

³ *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1865), Vol. XXXIV.

and when, in 1799, his patron, Louis Bonaparte, made it safe for him to enter Paris, he immediately set about publishing the book, declaring in its preface: "La proscription, dont j'ai été victime en Russie, ne m'a point inspiré ces mémoires; mais c'est peut-être l'indignation qui me donne le courage de les publier."¹

Inaccuracies and insults in Masson's book roused the resentment of August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue, a German dramatist who was actively loyal to his adopted country, Russia. Some passages in the controversy between Masson and Kotzebue are interesting for the light which they throw upon the character of the former. Two quotations from Masson's preface to his memoirs fairly represent his general tone: "Je n'écris que ce que j'ai vu, entendu, senti ou éprouvé moi-même. . . . J'ai déjà publié quelques petits ouvrages, où je ne me suis pas nommé, parce qu'ils étoient purement littéraires, et n'intéressoient que ma vanité."²

Kotzebue published as an appendix to his *Une Année mémorable an Examen de l'ouvrage intitulé: Mémoires secrets sur la Russie*. In it he declares that Masson's book made more noise than it deserved to make, and, further, "C'est donc son indignation qui éclate seule dans ses Mémoires."³ For Masson's literary achievements, Kotzebue says, "Il a fait petits vers." And he derides Masson's annoyance at having "sa personne importante comme homme de lettres" confounded with that of his brother. The Prussian brings his *examen* to a climax with the assertion: "On serait tenté de croire que M. de M^{xx} est sorti de l'école de M. Schlegel, tant son extravagance est ridicule, et sa ridiculité extravagante."

In the following year Masson replied to Kotzebue in a series of letters which served also to supplement his memoirs. Here the Frenchman gave a bright account of his own importance in the Russian court and belittled the "jérémiade de Kotzebue" to which he was replying. His boasting tempts one to apply here Kotzebue's declaration concerning the earlier book: "Il saisit avec un amour-propre ridicule chaque occasion de parler de soi."⁴

¹ *Mémoires secrets sur la Russie, et particulièrement sur la fin du règne de Catherine II et le commencement de celui de Paul I* (Paris, An. VIII [1800]), I, vi.

² *Ibid.*, pp. II-III.

³ *Une Année mémorable de ma vie* (Paris, 1802), Appendice, pp. i, iii, xlii, xxxi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

Masson definitely calls himself "un écrivain qui sent l'importance et la dignité de sa vocation" and hints that in his *Memoirs* he spoke "a plus d'un peuple" and even "a plus d'un siècle."¹

Such was the minor man of letters whose betrayal of her confidence induced Madame de Staël to send him the message printed below. The exact nature of the personal facts which he had put unceremoniously into writing is not clear. It seems likely that, upon reception of Madame de Staël's note, he suppressed the passage which had offended her. The date of the note is August 3, 1800. Madame de Staël was at Coppet from April till November of that year,² and, since she mentions Masson's epic as a means of identifying him, the note must have been written in the interval between the publication of that poem and that of the much better known *Mémoires* which appeared in the same year.

There need be no doubt of the authenticity of the manuscript. In comparing it with facsimiles of other letters of Madame de Staël I have observed a convincing resemblance.³ Mr. C. A. Carroll of Cornell University, who has made special study of Madame de Staël, assures me that the handwriting is hers. When Mr. W. R. Benjamin, the well-known authority on autographs, sold me the letter, which is now in my possession, he wrote: "As to Staël letter I guarantee it positively to be all in her hand,—as I am familiar with her writing." The single sheet of note-paper is, to be sure, unsigned; but the unique looped *d* of her script is unmistakably present throughout the page and a half of cramped and slanted penmanship. Further proof is given by the words "Mde. de Staël" written in the upper left-hand corner of the page in ink as brown and faded as that of the note itself; apparently the preserver of the letter treasured it as from the hand of the author of *De l'Allemagne*. The text is as follows:

¹ *Lettres d'un Français à un Allemand, servant de réponses à M. de Kotzebue, et de supplément aux Mémoires secrets sur la Russie suivies d'un précis historique de la déportation et de l'exil de l'auteur*, par C. F. Ph. Mason (cidevant major en premier, au service de Russie, et secrétaire des commandemens du Grand Duc Alexandre-Paulovitch), *Basel and Coblenz*, An. XI [-1802], p. 103.

² *Life and Times of Madame de Staël*, by Maria Norris (London, 1853), pp. 231, 234.

³ See for example the reduced facsimile, facing p. 32, of *Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant*, edited by Baroness Elizabeth de Nolde (translation from the French by Charlotte Harwood, Putnam, New York and London, 1907).

COPPET le 3 août v. style

je crois Monsieur, que vous avez senti comme moi combien il y avait de désaccord entre les sentiments que vous m'aviez témoigné et l'extrait que vous avez cru devoir insérer—il y a dans votre manière de vous exprimer en général quelque chose d'extrêmement flatteur, mais cette manière même vous oblige à une conduite analogue à vos paroles—la critique, la satire même *personnelle*, (et tel est le genre de l'extrait) peut être parfaitement permise, mais l'est il de surprendre au point où j'ai du [*sic*] être surprise quand je comparais vos discours avec l'action que vous étiez appelé à faire, et que vous avez fait—je n'en ai point de ressentiment, je ne changerai pas de conduite envers vous, parce que ce sont vos vertus et vos malheurs que j'honore mais à l'avenir je jouirai avec moins de confiance d'une bienveillance que je me flattais de posséder invariablement.

voulez-vous bien faire remettre cette lettre au cit. masson auteur du poème des helvétiques. j'ignore son adresse.

The other note is less important. It does present, however, evidence concerning Madame de Staël's knowledge of the English language before her second visit to England, in 1813-14. Her "my dear sir" shows that she had not entirely forgotten the English she learned twenty years earlier, at the time when, during her brief sojourn among the *émigrés* at Juniper Hall in Surrey, she wrote affectionately to Miss Burney: "When do you come spend a large week in that house?"¹

More significantly, the billet bears witness to Madame de Staël's friendship for a noted British general and so, one might think, adds one more to the list of her notable British friends who helped to make her personally popular in England before her *Germany* was published there. In this case, however, Madame de Staël's fame in England was probably increased but slightly. As late as July, 1807, Madame de Staël was quite unknown to Sir Robert Wilson. An entry in his diary under heading of July 30 reads in part: "This reminds me of Princess Radzivil's recommendation to read a new novel by Madame de Genlis called 'Corinna, of Italy.' She describes it as interesting and clever. I have not been able to procure it," etc.²

In her *Dix années* Mme. de Staël records among the list of her new friends "ceux que la conformité des sentimens avoit rapprochés de

¹ *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay* (London, 1891), III, 483.

² *Life of General Sir Robert Wilson from Autobiographical Memoirs, Journals, Narratives, Correspondence, etc.* Edited by his Nephew, Rev. Herbert Randolph (London, 1862), II, 333.

moi, . . . Sir Robert Wilson qui va chercher partout une occasion de se battre, et d'enflammer ses amis par son esprit."¹ But Sir Robert Wilson remained with the Russian armies till 1814.

The letter, one sentence of which is quoted by Lady Blennerhassett,² is preserved in the British Museum; it is addressed on the back of a folded double sheet of note-paper: "Sir robert wilson to the army."

The text is as follows:

STOCKHOLM ce 12
décembre, 1812

je remets avec plaisir à votre aide de camp my dear sir un mot qui vs rappelle combien je vs aime et vs admire—toutes les nations vs ont donné l'ordre de la bravoure moi je vs donne tout ce dont je puis disposer la plus haute estime et l'intérêt le plus sincère—il me semble que les russes ont triomphé à cause de vous—tachez qu'il en soit de même de la délivrance de l'europe—et ménagez vous pour conserver l'exemple de la plus parfaite union de l'esprit de chevalerie et de l'amour de la liberté—quand nous reverrons nous? donnez-moi de vos nouvelles, et comtez à jamais sur

moi—

NECKER DE STAËL HOLSTEIN

ROBERT CALVIN WHITFORD

URBANA, ILL.

¹ *Oeuvres inédites de Mme la Baronne de Staël, publiées par son fils, Tome premier* (Paris, 1821); *Dix années d'exil; fragmens d'un ouvrage inédit composé dans les années 1810 à 1813*, p. 349.

² *Frau von Staël, ihre Freunde und ihre Bedeutung in Politik und Literatur*, von Lady Blennerhassett, geb. gräfin Leyden (Berlin, 1889), III, 343.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

An Italian Dictionary. By ALFRED HOARE. Cambridge: The University Press, 1915.

This is the first and only large modern Italian-English and English-Italian dictionary. It has been greatly needed, as a multitude of disconsolate searchers in Baretti could testify; its excellence in quality makes it doubly welcome. For the town or college library it will be indispensable, and it has its special values even for the student accustomed to use Petrocchi and Rigutini. The real utility of the book is, however, greatly limited by its price—twelve dollars. It is to be hoped that the second edition may be brought within reach of the teacher's purse.

The Italian-English vocabulary constitutes the main part of the work. It occupies 663 pages, and treats some fifty thousand words. The English-Italian vocabulary, in 132 pages, has some twenty-five thousand entries.

The typographical arrangement of the Italian-English vocabulary is new, interesting, and successful. It consists of a single alphabetical series of words; but in that series about one-third of the entries are printed in relatively large type (eight-point Cushing), and the rest in relatively small type (six-point Cushing). The basis of the differentiation is purely practical. The words which, in the judgment of the compiler, are most likely to be looked up have the heavier type; those which interest few readers—obsolete, local, and technical words, for instance—and those that are virtually identical in meaning with obviously corresponding English words have the lighter type. This scheme works well. It is much simpler than Petrocchi's horizontal division of the page; and the eye recovers quickly from the first shock of strangeness, thanks to the beauty of the fonts and the excellence of the presswork.

Many minor devices are used in the interests of common-sense and brevity. Abbreviations abound; he that is puzzled for the moment by *bootm.* or *com.*, *leg.* or *hatm.*, *mlt.* or *pegg.*, *priv.* or *prov.*, *rep.* or *repet.*, *spreg.* or *unkn.* or *tezz.* or *vit.* or *Wibch.*, has but to turn to the imposing prefatory array. When an Italian word closely approaches an English word, both in form and meaning, the formula "as E." replaces a translation. Groups of words for which some common statement holds true bear that statement in visible community. So the *in-* pages are all headed "For derivation of compounds beginning with *In* see the simple word"; and a similar statement for *sovra-* runs up the side of a half-column.

In all words except those classed as obsolete, indication is given as to the position of the stress, the quality of a stressed *e* or *o*, and the voiced or voiceless character of an intervocalic *s* or a *z*. Similar diacritic signs should certainly have been supplied for the obsolete words as well. Such words often occur in passages of verse or prose that one desires to read aloud, and they are the very words most apt to bother a man whose general acquaintance with Italian is already good.

Etymologies are given for the more important words. This part of the work is by no means satisfactory, but that is not the fault of Mr. Hoare. He has reported faithfully the best opinions accessible to him, relying chiefly on Skeat and Pianigiani.

The definitions, based in general on Petrocchi and Tommaseo-Bellini, are very good indeed—accurate, and remarkably idiomatic; and there is more illustrative material, taken chiefly from Petrocchi, than is usually to be found in inter-language dictionaries. The specifically Tuscan quality of Rigutini should perhaps have entitled him to rather more consideration.

Every now and then one finds an unexpected little discourse, quite in the good old style—as under the headings *latinità*, *ordine*, and *punteggiare*. Dantesque words and phrases are, properly, treated with special care. *Pape* is left undefined; scholars are now pretty well agreed that Guerri is right both for this and for the *aleppe*, the *pape* being mediaeval Latin *papae* <Greek *παπά*, and meaning simply “oh,” while the *aleppe* is *aleph*, and means “Alas!” Recent words are well represented. *Automobile*, queerly enough, gets in only among the addenda. The Italian Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls are not recognized. They are, delightfully, *I Giovani Esploratori* and *Le Giovani Esploratrici*.

The two pages of stray “Notes on the Italian Language” should have been omitted. They are quite irrelevant and contain glaring errors.

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The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances. Edited, from Manuscripts in the British Museum, by H. OSCAR SOMMER. Volume VII. Supplement: *Le Livre d'Artus*, with Glossary (A unique fragment from MS No. 337 at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, from folio 115 A to 294 D). Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1913.

Le Livre d'Artus is a valuable document for the student of the French language. Sommer, in his all-too-short preface, tells us that the manuscript is of the last quarter of the thirteenth century and that he has reproduced it faithfully, “except where indicated in footnotes”; that he has, however,

expanded the abbreviations,¹ and, contrary to the practice of the scribe of MS No. 337, "uniformly spelled with capitals the names of persons and places, and such terms as Table Roonde," etc. Letters and words are inserted in the text where they have supposedly been omitted by the scribe, often without remark in the notes; these are included in parentheses.

The language of the author was evidently the standard literary French of the latter half of the thirteenth century, with scarcely more dialectic forms than the invariable *iau* for *eau*, while the last scribe was distinctly of the Northeast: *iaue*, the common form for "water," is often written *eve*, 138, 5; *eive*, 149, 27; *aive*, 115, 2; and sometimes *aigue*, 220, 24. *An* stands occasionally for *en*; more rarely, vice versa. In verbal forms, but rarely elsewhere, the editor corrects these in the text. *Anuiz*, 110, 39, for *for ennuiz*, 143, 46; *anor*, 63, 9, by the side of *ennor*, 133, 29, *onor*,² 160, 31; *anemi*, 128, 31, the common form of *ennemi*, and *tans*, 127, 37, sometimes found for *tens*, etc., are unnoted.

Such occasional forms as *amoin*, 118, 43, <*amener*; *poines*, 260, 39; and verbal endings in *-ient*,³ attest likewise the Northeastern dialect of the scribe. Three forms in *-omes* have been noted: *seromes*, 171, 29, and 213, 18; *partomes*, 290, 47; and the interesting *fonmes* (= *faisons*) 235, 20, which Sommer has changed in the text to *faesmes*.⁴ Exceptionally we find *li solauz*, 185, 4, by the side of *li soleuz*, 252, 27; *vermauz*, 103, 47, for *vermeuz*, 286, 30; we find *les euz*, 119, 35; *elz*, 223, 5; *iolz*, 31, 1; *eilz*, 195, 35, but never *iauz*, as in Chrétien; *il voit*, 77, 13; *vielt*, 77, 15; *vuelt*, 266, 21; *velt*, 217, 17, but never *viant*; *buen* for *bon* has been noted twice, 226, 4 and 204, 6. In the latter instance, *ce que buen li fu*, it is called in the Glossary an adverb = *bien*. Not only is *femme* written *fame*, but *amer* (= *aimer*) is not infrequently *emmer*, 271, 9, etc., usually corrected by the editor.

There are not a few forms in the long manuscript that are interesting from the standpoint of the phonetic development of the language: *oi*, *ei*, and *ai* are sometimes confounded; as in *ensaigne* for *ensoigne*,⁵ 124, 12; *saient*, 116, 12 (= *soient*); *oient*, 160, 8 (= *aient*); *metroi* for *metrai*, 277, 21, etc. In *oissir*, *oissu*, 73, 17; 90, 9, etc., and *aissir*, *aissu*, 113, 49, etc., *ei* is systematically replaced in the text. There are evidences that the vowel in hiatus was shifting: *poor* is the most common form of *peur*, but as many times as it occurs Sommer faithfully replaces it by *paor*, 7, 40, etc.; *foon* is once noted for *feon*, 217, 46; but *ronde*, 289, 39, *roonde*, 191, 34,

¹ The sign & is only exceptionally expanded. It stands not only for *et* but for *es* < *ecce*, 306, 20, etc. No modern punctuation nor apostrophe is used; we have supplied these in quoting the text.

² But never *onneur*, the form which Sommer introduces, 228, 18.

³ 58, 10; 65, 28; 95, 6; 262, 43; 316, 7.

⁴ Sommer enters his substitute in the Glossary. L. 1 is an error for l. 20.

⁵ The first reference to this word in the Glossary is an error: p. 35, l. 35, *ensaigne* = *enseigne*.

reonde, 178, 7, *voir* for *veoir*, 245, 22, etc., *cheoir*, 315, 15, for the ordinary manuscript form *chaoir*,¹ are unnoted. The habit "de dire chouse au lieu de chose," at which Henri Estienne mocked in the sixteenth century, was apparently already forming: *chouse*, 284, 43, is replaced in the text by *chose*, but *arousa*, 255, 12, *fousse*, 205, 42, for *fosse*, are unnoted.

From what has already been said, it might justly be concluded that Sommer has not attempted to make the orthography of the text uniform; but there are a few words for which this has been done. On what principle they have been selected it is difficult to decide. Attention has been called to *paor* above. The others, with mention of the manuscript form in the text, are *aist*<*aidier*, and *set* (= *il sait*). In both cases an analogical *s* in Ps. 3 before a final *t* is so common that it would scarcely seem to call for repeated remark, when such forms as *aisda*, 115, 1; *deisde*=*d'aide*, 104, 5; *eisdast*, 219, 32, as well as numerous words in which an excrescent *s* appears, even to so unusual a form as *quielxst*<*colligit*, remain unnoted: *lors se departent si quielxst chascuns sa voie*, 270, 36. In the preposition *soz*, frequently found by the side of *souz*, and in *crope*, both of which seem to us good OFr forms, a *u* is always introduced in the text: *so[u]z*, 105, 7, etc., *cro[u]pe*, 105, 14, etc., while in other words, such as *tot* by the side of *tout*, no insertion is made. The *s* in *message*, *aseoir*, and *ausi* of the manuscript is regularly doubled by the editor, as it is occasionally in other words.

The flexion of substantives and adjectives is in general intact in the manuscript.² Besides the analogical *s*, often found (*freres*, *sires*, etc.), there are occasional lapses. There are also a few³ cases of new formations worthy of note if the manuscript dates from the last quarter of the thirteenth century: 218, 46; & *cil hausse un bociau de cuir*; 218, 47: *le bocel s'en passe outre*. None of these are noted by the editor, although the form *apiau* in *si apiau de vostre foi*, which he remarks by *sic* in the notes, is due to the same influences, as well as the frequent *au* for *as* (<*à+les*): *au fenestres*, 96, 18, 44, etc. Some of these Sommer notes and changes to the regular *as*. Occasionally an *x* is added: 292, 31: *si vint au[x] deus serors*; 102, 35: *au[x] fers aguz*—making a form that never appears in the manuscript, but the coming of which the manuscript form *au* predicts.⁴

The form *orrez* for *aurez* is interesting: according to Nyrop,⁵ the "graphie de Cauchie (1570) *orey*" is the earliest example of the modern *aurai*. Merlin has just come to see Niniane, who *avoit ja fait un acointement novel dont ele ne pot onques joïr en la fin*. & *Merlins le sot si la rampo[s]na . . . mais ne*

¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. fr. hist.*, 2d éd., § 114.

² The examples cited throughout the paper will be sufficient proof of this. That it is as much respected is remarkable at this later period. (Cf. Nyrop, II, § 276.)

³ 213, 43; 236, 49; 222, 46, etc.

⁴ The form *diseet*, 242, 11, for *dix-sept* is, of course, *dis e set*; *gnXn*: e.g., *la plaigne=la plaine*, 44, 20; *seinnier*, 178, 42, = *saignier*; exceptionally, *dreice*, 67, 4, = *dresse*.

⁵ II, § 208.

*me chaut, fait il, que mal en i orrez en la fin.*¹ The context shows that we do not have here the future of *otr*, as the editor thinks.

Evidently the desire of the editor was to make his text as intelligible as possible to readers unfamiliar with the older language. Still, even on this supposition, there is no consistency in his treatment; he has: 34, 36: *li rossignol chantoit*, for the manuscript form *rossignos*; 281, 14: *estoit molt pensif*, MS *pensis* (cf. 284, 30; 146, 30, and 33, where the same change is made). 250, 30, *uns hom juif*, MS *guis*; so 251, 13 (the forms with *j* correctly used are just above, 248, 48: *si dist a toz les juifs*, and 249, 3).

In the case of 244, 43: *une croiz . . . plus vermeille que fins sanc*, MS *sans*, note that *fins* has still its nominative *s* and that *li sans* is elsewhere in the text unchanged. In the case of 209, 35, *Giflez fu venuz a la rescosse de Ker*, MS has *de Quieu*, cf. 212, 46; 212, 1, etc. One notes 145, 23: *ne nestoit mie restif*, MS *restis*; 147, 9: *au comencement que foi comenca*, etc., MS *foiz*; 159, 30: *& li demanda quele figure ce puet estre*, MS *quels*. An analogical *e* is rarely found in the manuscript for the feminine of *tel* and *quel* (157, 17; cf. 134, 1). In other adjectives of the same declension I have noted none. These forms occur: 306, 45: *li soleil raia qui l'isle enlumina de sa clarté*, MS *li soleuz*; 318, 25: *a mon fill Oriolz*, MS *Oriost*.

Either to make the old writer consistent or to make the text clearer, words of the manuscript are changed, nouns are supplied for pronouns, and very often these changes are made with little regard for the language of the author: 39, 14: *qui fu filleul au roi*, MS *filz au roi*. The correct nominative of *filleul* is found in the manuscript: 242, 10: *li filleus* (cf. 138, 39); 208, 2: *Ge m'en vois en plus [granz] besoigne*; 80, 38: *tout seürs en furent il*, MS *fust il*; 134, 5: *des clerz qui . . . vint li plus sages*, MS *li clerz qui*; 238, 20: *si fu si granz la noise que toz li chastel en retentist*, MS *chastelez* (it would seem as though Sommer recognized here neither the correct nominative nor the diminutive given as late as Cotgrave: "*Chastelet*, A little Castle, Fort or Hould," etc.); 231, 34: *lors vint Sadoines qui molt bien le fist . . . quar tot les rens perça*, MS *toz*; 166, 8: *por ce si envoie querre son fils*, MS *fill*; 138, 28: *& dona molt [granz dons] as barons*. There are comparatively few cases of *s* for *z* in the 323 folio pages of about forty-eight unbroken lines to a page—a beautiful page to look at, but tiring to the modern eye, accustomed to a short line.

172, 15: *la lune . . . car [el] decors estoit: en+le* before a consonant is regularly *u* in the manuscript. 269, 31: *si reboute l'espee [a]u fuerre*: this *a* should not have been inserted. 185, 19: *& [lhome] li dit*; 187, 42: *& Sagremor dit que*, etc., MS *il*: the nominative *Sagremors* is in the preceding line. It is noteworthy perhaps that, of proper names of persons, *Gauvain* alone is very frequently written without a nominative *s*. 302, 18: *tant que [le] fis Uterpandragon i vendroit*: the nominative masculine article is regularly *li*. Only here have I noted the form *fis*.

¹ 164, 9 ff.

The pronouns show the greatest deviation from classic OFr. *Lui* might be called the tonic form of the feminine as well as of the masculine. Cf. 276, 32: *s'amie l'embrace & le baise & il lui*. So far does it prevail over *li* that Nyrop's statement¹ as to the prevalence of this usage seems inadequate. One might expect therefore to find occasionally *li* for *lui*: & *quant vint que li hermites ot chanté si apela le chevalier & li dit que or parlera il a li* (247, 16). *Il* is occasionally found for *elle*, and this is usually corrected by the editor, as in 135, 42: *Un jor se porpensa Morganz que ele corroceroit la roïne & la Table Roonde & feroit tant qu'ele rauroit son ami, MS tant quil le rauroit*. The atonic indirect object *lui* has not been noted.

The most striking feature of the pronoun forms in the manuscript is the frequency with which *il*, both singular and plural, is reduced in subordinate sentences to *i* before a consonant. Sommer regularly introduces *l* in the text: 119, 2: *dît qui[l] li aura bien mestier*. So 104, 14; 114, 36; 141, 18. After a co-ordinate conjunction the same reduction of *il* is found: 108, 20: & *se dex m'aît i me fu bel*—in this case unnoted by the editor. An *l* after such a subject pronoun might represent an object pronoun: 128, 2: *si tost com il [l]ot ocis*; 107, 46: *quant il [l]ot oïe*; 111, 31: & *il [l]i vont a l'encontre*. Naturally, therefore, an *l* is found sometimes where it does not belong: 148, 42: *que nus qui venist, MS quil*; 150, 24: *Ge vos demant . . . chevalier quel que il soit, MS quil que il soit*. I should have changed to *qui*, equally good French. When the writer pronounced before a vowel the *l* of *il*, he consequently often doubled the *l*: 306, 40: *avant que Merlins entrast onques en l'isle ne qu'il i aportast la fille au duc, MS li*; 185, 20: *que tuit cil qui l'oient, MS tuit quil loient*; 267, 43: *si les conreerent il si malement a l'aide de lui, MS is*. Here the *i* of *is* represents the subject pronoun and the *s* probably anticipates the *s* following, as in *lassale*, 193, 43, which occurs at least twice for *la sale*.

Some of the old contractions are found in this manuscript, often resolved by the editor: 126, 27: & *l[i] en amenast les chevaux*; 119, 47: *G[el] vos vieng chalangier*; cf. 119, 48; 181, 36, etc. It may be worthy of note that the first person singular pronoun is regularly *ge*, but only once (199, 2), have I noted the emphatic form *gié*, familiar in Chrétien. In *s'en ot les paroles*, it would seem that the editor failed to understand that *sen* is for *se+en*, the *en* being the ordinary atonic form of *on*, and he has substituted in the text: 253, 47: *se la gent oient*, etc. (cf. 92, 50); 213, 41: *puis li fist son lit sel cocha, MS sil*, the correct form of *si+le*; 94, 36: *or alez donc, fait il, s[il]les i menez*.

Direct-object pronouns, frequently omitted in OFr, are usually inserted by the editor, and subject pronouns, even in subordinate sentences where there is no ambiguity, are often supplied. One inevitably thinks of Malherbe correcting Desportes: 156, 29: & *tant vos di ge bien que se [ge]*

¹ II, § 528, R. *Lui* is frequently used for tonic modern *elle* in the other volumes of this publication: "*i ala ma dame et me mena aveques lui*," etc.—"*L'Etoire del Saint Graal*," p. 67, l. 14.

peusse, etc.; 156, 37: *einsi voirement m'aüt dex ge [le] li dirai*, MS *maist*; 126, 43: *Lunele manda Niniane qu'e[le] la venist veoir*; 167, 4: *tant com [il] poent*; 120, 5: *[il] ne covient mie*, etc. Although OFr omitted the reflexive pronoun more often than Sommer would allow, it is probably the subject pronoun that is unexpressed in many cases which he thus corrects: 168, 19: *Se vos me creantez, fait ele, que vos vos combatrez a un meillor chevalier que cist n'est a cui vos [vos] estes orendroit combatuz*, etc.

The tonic form of the pronoun, especially with the infinitive, is found and sometimes noted: 297, 11: *por se refreschir*, MS *soi*; 171, 16: *& quant la pucele vit que . . . ne qu'ele ne le pooit metre arriers de sa fole emprise*, MS *ne que lui ne pooit*, etc.; 118, 2: *& avoient X chevaliers en lor compaignie por els aidier*.

The tonic form of the personal pronoun is also found for the reflexive, as still so frequently in Middle French. Sometimes this also is changed: 104, 48: *de se desfendre*, MS *de lui desfendre*; 143, 24: *li trencheroit la teste & puis soi apres*, MS *lui*.

The demonstrative pronouns are treated by the editor in the same manner as substantives and adjectives. No changes are made systematically, and faults in flexion in the manuscript are very rarely noticed: 162, 3: *veez sire [ce] que ge ai puis gaaigné*; 173, 33: *& lors regarde la damoisele cele qui l'avoit aidie a desarmer & li dist*, MS *celi*; 132, 30: *come [celui] a cui li cuers [s]en aloit auques eschaufant*; 79, 8: *Ales fist armer une partie de cels de la cité pour faire entendre a cil defors*, etc., MS *a els*; 228, 39: *entre moi & cel[ui] mien compaignon*; 41, 33: *le cheval*, MS *celui cheval*.

The principal point of interest in regard to relative pronouns is the repeated use of *que* for *quoi*. *Que* before a vowel with the prepositions *par* and *por* has already been noted in Chrétien, but here *que* is used with other prepositions also and before a consonant: 284, 33: *A quoi pensez vos*, MS *que*; 189, 6: *de quoi vos meslez vos*, MS *que*; 255, 17: *le sidoin de que je lenvelopai*; 281, 11: *por oir pourquoi cil duels*, etc.; MS *por que*; 213, 48: *au roi Artus par qui vos seriez*, etc., MS *quoi* (*quoi* was used referring even to persons¹ up to the seventeenth century); 218, 9: *a son feon por qui ele avoit*, etc., MS *quoi*; 219, 18: *les tables sor que² il orent mengié*; 133, 14: *une chaïre sor quoi il sist*; 282, 26: *car li chevals sor le quel il seoit*, MS *sor que*, etc. We are all familiar with *que* ne for *pourquoi* pas, still living in Modern French. In this document we find: 16, 23: *Franc chevalier, que demorez vos, querez le roi*, etc. *Cui* is found in all the OFr acceptations, but often written *qui*: 201, 20: *qui chaut*; 32, 10, etc.: *cui chaut*. Naturally therefore *cui* is written at times for *qui*, and with *cui* Sommer sometimes supplies a preposition: 163, 8: *le merueilleus liepart . . . par cui la terre de Bretaine seroit desfendue du merueilleus dragon volant de[s] Longtaines Isles [& a] cui la serpent[e] au chief d'or enclinerait*, etc. *Cui* is found rarely

¹ Cf. Maupas' *Grammar*, ed. 1607, p. 163.

² This and the following example are left in the text, unnoted.

for *quoi*: 18, 2: *por deu, sire, montez tant com loisir avez. coi, fait li rois, biaux niés, qu'est ce que tu as*, MS *cui*. But this is purely graphic; *ui* is occasionally elsewhere confounded with *oi*: 140, 9: *refruidoit*=*refroidoit*; 144, 20: *coivre*=*cuivre*.

We should often read with the old writer rather than with the editor: 296, 20: *Come fel chevaliers & mal ense[i]gniez qui vos estes*, MS *que*; so 234, 3.

The OFr conjugations are practically intact. No analogical *e* is yet found in Ps. 1 of conjugation I, though the editor thinks sometimes that there should be one: 215, 12: *si men retor[ne] dolente*. Nor are there as yet any certain traces of the ending-accented forms driving out the stem-accented forms, or vice versa: 295, 20: *ou il joe as eschés*, MS *geue*; 198, 13: *si se despoillent & lavent*, MS *levant*; 315, 19: *& lave ses meins u ru*, MS *leve*. In Ps. 3 of *oir*, an *i* is introduced, needlessly, though with admirable regularity, the form occurring scores of times: 114, 1: *quant messire G- l'o[i]lt si regarde A-*. The Ps. 2 receives the same treatment, but this form occurs rarely: 249, 3: *dont n'o[i]s tu que tuit li juif dient*. Other correct OFr verb forms are altered in the text: 186, 24: *que mot n'en seu*, MS *soi*; so 141, 37. It is undoubtedly also *soi* that we should see in *se*: 70, 37: *Ge seu bien, fait Raolais, que a ce vendroie ge*, MS *se*. Verbal endings in *-ai* are not infrequently written *-e*; and *ai*, as we have seen above, is sometimes confounded with *oi*. 134, 18: *ne li rois Bans ne li rois Bohorz qui pres d'ilec estont ou ge la trovai*, etc., is supplied with a note "as above for *estont*." But *estont* is the regular OFr Ps. 6 of *ester*.

For 196, 38: *un si grant bret qu'il n'ot home ne femme qui clerement ne l'oist & jambete molt longuement avant que li cors s'estent en pais*, the manuscript has *esteust en paiss*. Again, the manuscript form (Impf. Sbj. 3 of *ester*) is perfectly correct, because the sentence was first conceived in the past. In 282, 33: *dame ge voi merveilles de ce chevalier qui se combati durement*, etc., MS *combast*, the analogical *s* in a Ps. 3 is easily explained. In 307, 48: *& quant vint au parhurter si fu P- estordiz que a la terre l'estu[e]t venir*, the past definite of the manuscript is correct. In 118, 11: *commande a Eliezer qu'il pense de l'errer*, MS *pent*; 120, 18: *& dist a Elyezer qu'il pense*, MS *pent*; the subjunctive in both cases is good usage.

322, 14: *menra*, MS *merra*: *merroit* also is in the manuscript, 311, 37. 293, 23: *il sentrenpaignent*, MS *sentrespaignent*; 113, 18: *sentrenpaignent*, MS *sentrespaignent*: Godefroy enters the verb *entrespaignre* with two citations, both from *Artur (Richel)*, but no *entrenpaignre*. Godefroy gives also both *espaignre* and *espoindre*, of which the latter is the proper form, and it is undoubtedly a compound of this that we have here. For 98, 45: *volt*, MS *vost*, cf. 100, 37: *il volst & dona*. In 77, 10: *si li besoigne [i est]*, the insertion is gratuitous. We have here the well-known verb *besoignier*, used impersonally; cf. *Troie*, 1655:

"Or m'est mestiers, or me besoigne
Que de mei penseiz sens aloigne."

261, 34: *lors ne dist plus, ainz se cois tot & pensa une molt grant piece*, MS *ainz cois se*; the verb *coisier*, entered in the Glossary with reference to this line, would not have *cois* in Ps. 3, nor in the past definite; better read *coisse*. The verb is found in OFr written with single or double *s* and used as a neuter verb as well as a reflexive: *Renart le nouvel*, 5054: "Crient li vif, coisent li mort."

148, 41: *fist faire une haute tor perrine . . . & quant il l'ot tote asovie*, MS *asivie*: this past part. form <ad+sequere, "to complete," is not without example. The Glossary gives this reference under "*asovir* = pleinement satisfaire," etc., as well as *asovir*, "to finish."

110, 19: *lors venoit li arbres qui de lui estoit issue*: for *issue*, MS *outre*; we should certainly not want a perfect participle feminine here; rather, we should read *outrez*. This passage occurs in the account of a vision of a tree springing from the navel of a woman. In the miracle plays the word is used several times in speaking of something coming down from heaven: the semasiology of the word is plain. Cf. *Miracles de Nôtre Dame*, XXVIII, 1600 ff.:

"Ha! sire, quant je me recors.
Que des cieulx vous estes oultré
Et a moy vous estes moustré, . . ."

93, 49: *ses oncles s'en estoit alez rescorre la proie que li Saisne avoient acueillie*, MS *acuellie*: *acueillir* as well as *accueillir* existed in OFr and lived on into the fourteenth century. In *Meliador* 11514 of Froissart we read, "Il ont leur voiage accueilliet." For 180, 44: *se li chevaliers du lit le veist ja n'eüssiez le pooir de moi enmener avant vos fuisse chierement comparé*, MS *comparee* is certainly the correct form; so also, 189, 11. 132, 34: *G. a cui ele avoit s'amor promise & l'ama molt volentiers s'il i volsist entendre*, MS *la amast*: the scribe quite frequently repeats a letter or a syllable which the editor generally very helpfully divines, but here *amast* should have been kept, as we have a regular condition contrary to fact and the past definite would be unacceptable. 136, 16: *ne s'en issent james s'il i entrassent*, MS *sil i entrast james ne sen issist*: why the appropriate imperfect subjunctive should be changed to the present indicative is inexplicable. The subject, *tuit li chevalier*, is, to be sure, plural, but so far removed from the verb that the writer thought of each individually when he reached the verb; *issist* might have been changed to *eissist*.

The old forms of the imperfect and future of *estre* are occasionally found. The future of *ester*, *estera*, Sommer replaces by *sera*, on p. 159, l. 40. Once I have noted *esseroient*, 281, 1. For 295, 34: *por deu aie pitié*, the manuscript has *aies*, which is the regular OFr imperative singular of *avoir*. It would seem that the editor was unaware that *j* was used in OFr before *a* and *o* terminations in the conjugation of verbs in *-gier*, where in Modern French *ge* is written. The *i*'s and *j*'s not being distinguished in the manuscript, *menja*, for example, was read *menia*, and consequently doublet forms of these verbs are put in the Glossary: *songier*, *sonier*; *rengier*, *renier*; *plunger*

(sic), *plunier*, etc. 79, 26: *challengions*, MS *challanjons*; 197, 8: *rechan-goient*, are the editor's forms, where the manuscript in the use of a similar verb gives *menjoit* (313, 42); *menjoient* (96, 18).

Occasionally the infinitive is found as a substantive, once at least noted by the editor: 104, 4: *qui molt se painent de le remonter*, MS *du monter*; cf. 105, 21. Once I have noted the infinitive after the preposition *en*, to which Sommer objects: 54, 29: *vos n'avez nul droit de vos sevrer de vostre oncle*, MS *droit en sevrer de*. Twice I have noted the historical infinitive: 182, 46: *or du blasmer le chevalier*, perhaps not understood by the editor; cf. 207, 43. *Aler* is frequently conjugated with *avoir* and this sometimes does not please the editor: 263, 19: *estoient alé*, MS *avoient*. There are a few cases of confusion of auxiliaries (139, 21; 123, 29, etc.) and of now unused or little-used tenses. One of the latter, corrected by Sommer, would still pass muster¹ in Modern French: 242, 9: *avoit amée*, MS *avoit eu amée*. Two similar tenses with reflexives are interesting because they show that even at that time the auxiliary *estre* with such verbs was felt to be used for *avoir*: 310, 20: *s'estoient assaïé*, MS *sestoient eu essaie*; 129, 47: *s'estoient entramé*, MS *sestoient entrame eu*.

Passages in the manuscript are changed for no apparent reason, unless it be that the OFr forms were unfamiliar:

286, 4: & *corne un [cor d]olifant*. cf. *Troie*, 16068 f.,

"Sonent tant cor, tant meienel
E tant olifant grant e bel."

110, 32: & *a parler d'unes [choses] et d'autres*; cf. *Hist. de Ch. VI*, par J. Lefevre, p. 124 in Lacurne: "Le duc de Bourgogne . . . leur remonstra tant d'unes et d'autres que les chiefs lui promirent," etc.

105, 37: *si que il le fait flatir a paumetons*, MS *il li fait flatir les deus paumes*; cf. *Troie*, 24026:

"Des dous paumes le fist ferir
A la terre . . ."

113, 33: *cil li rent & paie au[tre]telz*; *autel* is used elsewhere in the manuscript: 124, 29; 125, 12, etc.

157, 17: *de[s] quele hore que vos devroiz mover*; *de for dès* is not uncommon in OFr: *Troie*, 23634: "De cel jor n'en ot puis saisine." But here *de* simply expresses an ablative of time: *Troie*, 10991: "Onc de nule hore n'avillierent."

138, 2: *Car il estoit li plus granz chevaliers que l'en seüst*, MS *ce* (for *il*). 81, 12: *au tentes du roi Urien*, MS *au* (for *du*). But the dative of possession is still often used in the manuscript; cf. 91, 9; 164, 6, etc.

139, 30; *biau païs plenteureus & riche de viles & de bestes aumaille*, MS *bestes & daumaille*: "Bestes aumaille = bêtes cornues." But all *bestes* are not *cornues*. *Aumaille*, as a substantive is still in Cotgrave, = "Great cattell; or any kind of Neat, as Oxen, Kine." If used adjectively, *aumaille* should be plural.

¹ Cf. Girault-Duvivier, I, 478, and n. 331.

241, 26: & se fierent en la mellée [o]u plus espes [estoit]: *Espes* would then have been feminine. "U plus espes" for "into the thickest" is in the *Roland*, l. 3529: "El plus espes sis rumpent e partissent."

It was late in the history of the language that the article was obligatory to express the relative superlative:¹ 149, 7: *i fist faire la plus riche sale*, MS *faire sale plus riche*; so 178, 50. In the case of 129, 44: *ses compainz que tant ja [dis] avoit amé*, cf. *Florence de Rome*, l. 14: "Seignors, ja fut uns tens." In 184, 6: *un molz preuz chevaliers*, MS *de chevaliers*, cf. 188, 12: *ce sire de chevaliers*, and note the nominative *s* in both cases. In *Troie*, 18382, is the correct OFr form: "Proz d'ome ne deit doter mort." In 300, 4: *quant il ot le ciel netoit de totes pesantes choses si come de ferrume[e] & de la roële de l'eive*, the manuscript reading, *de ferrume & de nuille & deive* should be kept; *ferrume* is in as good standing as *ferrumee*; *nuille* may very well be another variant form of *nuile*, to add to the eighteen given by Godefroy, = "brouillard, nuage." The meaning is also better served.

Sommer seems to be unaware that in OFr *en* with verbs of motion was much used without the reflexive:² 113, 11: *ill n[e] s[en] puet aler*; 165, 32: *des icel jor quil [s]en estoient entré*; 317, 21: *or si gart donc qui a garder i saura*, MS *si aura* (cf. p. 322, l. 46, where there is the same correct manuscript reading but there unchanged).

63, 9: *voire, fait Raolais, es tu donc icil qui mon oncle m'as deserité de s'anor & receue sa terre desor son gré*, has the note: "MS: sic." The use of *desor* for *contre* is not without example: *Troie*, 20395 f.:

"Desor mon cuer e sor mon peis
En menreiz mes Mirmidoneis."

In 287, 37: *rassazier*, MS *resazier* is the correct form, and, again, 270, 12: *parfinir*, MS *parfenir*. For 133, 24: & *content notes & fabliaus*, the note reads: "MS *cantent*." As Picard *c* before *a* is only found in the manuscript in the proper noun *Escauz* (only once have I noted that the editor gives the manuscript form *escauz* for the *Escauz* of the text, 200, 17) we should prefer to read *content* and interpret *notes* = "choses notables," comparing its use here to "nota" in *Le Viel Testament*, IV, l. 34913:

"Je vous diray
Ung nota et relateray, . . ."

30, 39: *et fiert B— parmi les narilles du heaume*, MS *narines*: Cotgrave still gives the three forms, *narine*, *narille*, and *nareau* for a "narrell or nosethrill."

In 40, 13: & *s'en avint molt bien au genz lou roi*, MS *estut*. *Estut* is perfectly correct. Cf. *Troie*, 9975 f.

"Quant Nez d'Amors vit e conut
Qu'a son frere si mal estut
Eslaisse sei . . ."

¹ Nyrop, II, § 464.

² Cf. the excellent note on *en* and its uses in OFr in the Glossary to Bérout's *Tristan*, ed. E. Muret.

For 281, 38: *que la lance i passe plus de demi* [pi]e, cf. 322, 47; *lespee i entre plus que demie*.

284, 31: *est o liu remes*, MS *sest o lui remes*. 307, 26: *en pres que*, MS *enps ce* —?: *enpres ce (que)* is good OFr; cf. "par ce que."

Thus we cannot always agree with the editor in his rectifications of the manuscript, and some passages which we think need rectification are unchanged:

233, 46: *car bien se porront prover en essoier*, MS *trover*, which seems to us correct. The idea is: "they will be able to find therewith opportunity to test themselves."

48, 29: *Estez, biaux sire, atendez moi: sanz moi n'iroiz vos mie*, MS *entendez*.

135, 7: *c'est une charneure que l'en dit os genz alise*, "MS *os=od*": the preposition *o* was obsolescent for the author, judging by the comparatively few examples found in the manuscript, and *od* was the form used before a vowel. Besides, it is not *o* (=avec) which is needed here, but rather *as*.

314, 21: *une voie si estreite que son cheval ne pot retorner car li bois estoit si pres & si espes & les ortieres si hautes & la voie si parfonde que neis ses jambes li covenoit oster des estrés*, MS *ornieres*, which seems to me what is meant here, as well as 315, 21.

148, 2: *& s'il avient chose que auques i soiez vos seroiz tuit tué*, MS *ongues*.

302, 13: *lors fist par laienc tel enchantement & telx trieges qu'il n'estoit nus chevaliers u monde tant fust de grant proëce qu'il [ne] poist mie achever le disme des aventures*, etc.; the *ne* should not have been inserted.

205, 43: *& cil ne rostrent car pseudome estoient si assaillirent les genz Arrant molt durement*, MS *sis*, which is certainly needed.

186, 33: *que a tant ne s'en tendroit il mie ainz me covendroit ce dist se je voloie estre quile a guerre un chevalier*, MS *quile quil me covendroit un chevalier guerre*: Sommer repeatedly confounds the peculiar OFr *convenir*+infinitive without sign and the accusative of the person with *convenir*+infinitive with sign and the dative of the person, both constructions being found in the manuscript: 302, 20: *a autant de chevaliers le covendroit [a] combatre*; so 302, 21. 312, 4: *si lor covient [a] combatre*, MS *les*; 192, 27: *vos covendroit a laissier*, etc.

The OFr word-order is unwarrantedly changed: 103, 30: *qui li dist que uns chevaliers s'estoit meslez a sa gent*, MS *quil sestoit un chevaliers meslez*; 240, 37: *si dient a Agloval que por deu il s'en voise*, MS *por deu voise sen*; 245, 19: *dones moi tant vivre si[l] vos plaist*, MS *me dones vos tant*; 174, 31: *que il eüst veüe mais piece a*, MS *que mais eust piece a veue*; 233, 34: *en i avez vos plus reconeüz*, MS *avez en i vos plus*. The author must not use pleonastic words, nor omit particles needed today: 113, 47: *si les envoient*, MS *si les en envoient*; 139, 16: *et sanz faille il [en] enmenoient molt grant partie*. He must not mix his numbers, and when speaking of a hero and his companions use now the singular and now the plural (106, 39, etc.), nor must he make

his verb agree with the nearest subject when there is more than one: 200, 5: *menerent li sire des Mares & cil de B—*, MS *mena*. Nor will Sommer allow a singular verb with a collective subject: 267, 46: *sa gent qui molt mis[en]t grant paine*, etc. Why this dialectic *misent* should be used, if the form is to be corrected, is not plain; cf. 321, 33: *& se mistrent a la voie*, and so regularly. Words are inserted which are unnecessary: 150, 3: *& comença sa raison en tel maniere: Rois Artus, sires dex vos saut [je salue] & vos & vostre compaignie*.

The editor seems to think that the rule for the repetition of certain prepositions was as fixed as it is today; cf. 129, 25. The distinction between the use of *en* and *a* with place names was not entirely established even in the seventeenth century: 126, 24: *en Brecehande*, MS *a*. So 121, 32, etc.

I have noted only a few cases of the accusative and infinitive, and there is little Latin influence upon the orthography: 248, 49: *que ele conoist cest home molt estre juste* (cf. 256, 44); 190, 23: *& la damoisele desvoie le chevalier tot a escient por plus eslongier la voie*, MS *por plus estre longue la voie*; 205, 4: *qui cumques*, etc.

Probably some irregularities are purely typographical (30, 6; 237, 13; 230, 1, etc.). But enough has been said doubtless to substantiate the statement that the text which Sommer offers is a hybrid product, the French of no one period.

Outside of the translation of the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus (p. 247, n.), and the mention of Judas Macchabeus,¹ there are only five references to Gautier Map *qui de latin translata* the stories of Merlin's master, Blaise, *en langue francoise par la proiere au roi Henri*,² which can be properly called of historical interest. *Li Contes des Patures* (222, 47) and *Li Contes de la Loïsne* (69, 22) are mentioned, however. Of these the editor says he knows nothing. On the latter there is a note to the effect that Paul Meyer, when appealed to, said that the *Loïsne* was the *licorne*, but that he, the editor, could find no confirmation of this; that he was at a loss how to divide the manuscript form *laloïsne*, and suggests that it might be for *l'alaisne* (= *l'alène*) and refers to p. 66, l. 15, where an awl is mentioned. Another suggestion might be offered: we might have here the animal cited by du Cange from a Latin-Italian glossary: "*linxia* = *la dea bestiarum e splendore*."

In a Note prefacing the Glossary, Sommer says that the manuscript "has never been read in its entirety for lexicographical purposes," and that he has considered it part of his task to compile a list of the uncommon words and phrases occurring in the romance and to give their equivalents in modern French. Sommer has done much more than this, although the Glossary is by no means exhaustive. A number of criticisms of it have already been made. In general, it may be said that either a very incorrect opinion of

¹ P. 150, l. 37.

² P. 69, ll. 16 f.; cf. 127, 21; 141, 15; 145, 32; 149, 22.

the manuscript would be formed from a study of the Glossary alone, or we must conclude that we have not after all a faithful reproduction of the manuscript: *coissir*, for example, is entered with reference to *choisir*, but *choisir* alone is found in the text. The variants *deljé*, and *delgié* are given for *delié*, but it is always the last form that is found. The *i*'s and *j*'s are not as a rule confounded as in the manuscript; *deluie* is given *deluje*, *deluwe*, and lack of care in distinguishing the vowel from the consonant led perhaps to a curious error in definition: 148, 24: *si les acoilli une grant gresle dont les pierres estoient toutes rouges come sans, si grosses come noiz jauges qui les tormenterent*. The Glossary gives "*iauge, aigage, ewage, adj.*, 148, 24: *rempli de l'eau*." The two variants are not found in the manuscript. This is the only case in which the word is used. Nor is *noiz* in the Glossary, so that we do not know how Sommer read this. Students of OFr recognize here the "*noiz gauges*" made familiar in *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 12, 24. Godefroy gives other examples in OFr and in dialects of today, but the central OFr form with *j* is rare. *Brachet* is entered with no variant, although the regular form of this word in the manuscript is *brochet*. Under *uis* another reference might have been added, in my opinion: 184, 2: *& quant il les auroit outrez si les metroit en sa prison ou uis*. Sommer's note to *ou uis* reads: "*Au uif=alive*." This seems inadmissible. I have noted no case in the long manuscript in which *ou=au*. I should prefer to read as usual *ou<aut*, and *uis*, in apposition with *prison*, for "house." The knights *outré* sent to King Arthur's court were not prisoners in the ordinary sense of the word. The use of *uis=door*, for "house," is found in a passage quoted by Godefroy from the *Actes des Apotres*:

"J'apperçoy de son huys la porte
Sydrae, allons jusques a la."

Cf. p. 159, l. 38, of the manuscript before us, where it speaks of the *Laide Semblance* being *estoïe en l'uis fermé en bons escrins*. Curious results of apparent carelessness are found: *pute* is entered with the definition "jeune fille," whereas a "jeune fille" in the manuscript, as elsewhere in OFr, is a *pucelle*, not in the Glossary. The references to *pute* are: 13, 17: *veez sire de ces filz a putain faillis*; 119, 38; 277, 32: *ne la pute qui ça vos manda ne vos i sera ja garant*. *Putain* is given as a separate word and is defined correctly "prostituée." *Pute* is of course but the nominative singular of *putain*, which is also correctly used in the manuscript; cf. 279, 11-13.

Definitions are not always appropriate to the passages in which the words occur: *piler* is defined: "pile de pierres servant à soutenir diverses parties d'un édifice," a definition which suits none of the passages in which it is found: 195, 49: *por itant que tu es de l'ostel du roi Artus & de la compaignie de la Table Roonde ne seras tu mis u piler, ençois te ferai giter en la fosse des lions esgeûnez*; cf. 197, 35 and 48; 196, 16. The appropriate meaning is in fact not given by Godefroy, although Littré gives it under *pilier* (7°), and

Cotgrave has: "*Pilier & Carcan*, Is (not much unlike a Pillorie) an Engine or Instrument of justice, for the punishment & disgrace of offenders." The description of this punishment in the last quarter of the thirteenth century is of some historical interest (191, 42 ff.).

Bouge is entered in the Glossary with two definitions: "valise, petit coffre, petit sac de cuir; bouges, plur., le lit d'un fleuve." There is no indication that either of these meanings is satisfactory in the passage referred to, although attention was called to the difficulty when it occurred in the manuscript: 151, 3: *por ce la prist li preudom & la gita en un flun la ou il la mist en ses bouges*. The note begins: "The passage *ou il la mist en ses bouges* is not quite clear to me; the scribe has added the *la* and the *en* above the line in very small letters." We have probably here the word in its modern application as a "cabinet de décharge," and the reading in this case of both the author and the scribe would be intelligible. Judas Macchabeus wanted to get rid of the *Laide Semblance* and threw her into the river at the spot where he had his *bouges*.

There are some thirty-two words in the Glossary, marked with an asterisk and indicated in the text in footnotes, which Sommer says he has "failed to elucidate, in spite of a great deal of trouble and endless research," and that "several eminent French, German, and English scholars" to whom he submitted his proofs were unable to help him. All but a very few of these, however, yield to identification as words in good standing, or derivatives from well-known forms:

biois (erroneously *briois* in the Glossary), 36, 34: *il estoit chauciez d'uns housiaus de biois*, is undoubtedly *biais*. Godefroy cites: "deux paires de chausses en carreaux de bon bihaïs," and Palsgrave (p. 198) gives: *byas* of an hose = *bias*.

chacerot, 164, 28: *lors vint li rois un jor & dist que il iroit chacier . . . si porte Sagremor le chacerot le roi & vont en la forest: porter* = "prendre avec lui"; *chacerot* = "chasseron" = petit cheval pour la chasse.¹

celables, 149, 5: *si estoit celables & covertiz*: there seems no more reason for finding difficulty with *celables* than with *covertiz*. Godefroy, it is true, gives the latter and not the former (*celables* < *celer* + *able*), but with only the passage before us in illustration.

276, 25: *car il est costumiers de venir en agailons que ja ne saura nus sa venue quant il vient: agailons* < *agaitier* as *reculons* < *reculer*.

276, 21: *si vint la damoisele a l'uis de la chambre & locha l'anelet coietement*: this *coietement* seems to mean "doucement," rather than "avec empressement," and to be formed on *coiete*, feminine diminutive of *coi*; cf. *basset*, *soavet*, etc.

Crosser, 282, 11: *bien l'avez ore crossée*: Sommer suggests: "passée, vue." But the feminine pronoun has no expressed antecedent. Rather, we have

¹ See Godefroy, II.

here the verb, still used in Modern French, "crosser une balle, une pierre,"¹ and the expression here would mean: "You have made a good hit," "played a good game," a meaning entirely appropriate to the passage.

Corel, 64, 13: *la plus corel chose que vos aiez*, might very well find a place after *coreement* in Godefroy. It would be the French form of the familiar Provençal *coral*: "l'amor de son effan, car es la plus corals amors que sia."²

demere, 199, 45: *la Roche as Saisnes qui tant estoit forz que nule demere ne redoutoit*, is probably for *demore*, as the editor suggests, the idea being that the place was so strong that it feared no stay of any length of a besieging force.

effondrer, 202, 12: *li escu percié & effondré & deternechié*, seems to offer no difficulty. Godefroy gives *esfondrer* and numerous examples of its variant *effondrer*; cf. *Troie*, 15648: "Et le hauberc bien esfondré."

enz, 287, 17: *li hui estoit levez si granz & fors & hanz que l'en n'i ooit deu tonant*: Sommer has substituted *hanz* for *enz* of the manuscript. Professor Jenkins³ suggests the correct reading: we have here the well-known expression "fors & enz," "within and without." If *fors* were an adjective, it would be written *forz*.

entasche, 28,47, etc.: & *fiet entasche a destre & a senestre*: the phrase occurs at least twice in the *Moniage Guillaume*: "De vos poissons voel acater en taske," l. 1009;

"La gaité estoit sour la porte en l'estage,
Les cos qu'il ont feru en taske" [l. 6145 f.].

Chrétien de Troyes also uses the expression in *Charrete*, 6775 f.:

"Quantqu'avra el geu, tot en tasche⁴
Prandrai, ja n'an ferai relasche."

Cotgrave still gives: "Tasche=a taske. *En bloc et en tache*. Tag and rag, all together, one with another."

sessoie, 267, 43: *si fuioient aussi parmi la bataille come la quaille a l'esprevier quant il sessoie*, is put tentatively under *essaier* and defined: "faire épreuve de ses forces." The sense would be better served by reading *s'essore*; cf. Chrétien's lines in *Cligès*, 6440:

"Essorez fu ses espreviers,
Qu'a une aloete ot failli."

escocit, 52, 23: & *li rois li donoit congié . . . mais encois qu'il s'en alast li sembloit qu'il li voloit oster sa corone de sa teste, mais messires Gauvain ses niés li escocit & li metoit arriers en son chief: escocit=escorre*, Lat. EXCUTERE="took it away (from him)."

¹ See Littré, *Crosser*, 2.

² *Breviari d' Amor*, l. 355, in Appel's *Chrest*.

³ To Professor Jenkins is due likewise the correct interpretation of *vencheront forre* below, as well as suggestions elsewhere which are here acknowledged.

⁴ Förster erroneously translates *Tasche* (= *poeche*) and comments: "sonst in Altfr. nicht belegt."

Escoudre, "refl. s'évanouir" is given as a starred form to account for *s'esqueust*, 66, 2: *atant s'esqueust devant Blaise si qu'il ne sot qu'il fut devenuz*; and *s'escost*, 161, 3: *atant prent Merlin l'escrin & s'escost & s'evanoist si tost que nus ne sot onques a dire que il fu devenuz*. *S'esqueust* and *s'escost* are evidently from *s'escondre*, "to hide oneself." *Escost*¹ is the normal form of the past definite of *escondre*. On *esqueust*, cf. Förster's note on *queust* by the side of *cost*, *Cligès*, l. 1158. There seems to have been a tendency for the *o* before *n*+consonant to be treated as free. Forms of three distinct verbs are therefore entered under one heading in Sommer's Glossary, representing Latin *excurrere*, *excudere*, *excondere*.

escrien, 221, 19: *il ardoit un cierge au pié de son lit lez un escrien*: the editor suggests that *escrien* is for Modern French *écran*. It seems more probably the well-known variant of *escrin*,² frequently found in the manuscript. In Modern French the word means "coffret, étui à bijoux," but in OFr it was not necessarily diminutive. It was in an *escrin* that the Medusa was put to throw her into the river, and it seems to have been a common piece of furniture in the mediaeval house; cf. 158, 24; 157, 36; 137, 18, etc.; so that an *escrin* might very well have served as a screen, so that the light of the candle should not shine on the bed.

escu, 236, 31: *il me desfendirent que je n'oerisse la porte a home ne qui i venist sanz lor escu*: the Glossary suggests that this might be for *eschü* = "excuse, empêchement." But the context demands rather *sceu*, *su*. Cotgrave notes still "*sceu*, knowledge, . . . notice of." The initial *e* is due simply to carelessness.

fienge, 177, 30: *si tost com Messire Gauvain entra u gué por passer outre & li uns des deus de l'autre part li vient a l'encontre & li escrie que il se gart. & messires Gauvain hurte encontre lui si tost com il le voit venir qu'il ne redoute mal pas ne fienge*. The Glossary questions whether this *fienge* is a substantive, or the present subjunctive of *feindre*. There is no reason for a subjunctive here; and if it were a verb, there would be before it another *ne*. We might recognize in it a variant of *fange* = *bourbier*; *fagne* borrowed from the Walloon is given in the Diet. Gén. For *ie* = *a*, *ai*, cf. in this manuscript: *friente* = *frainte*,³ 67, 3; *taigniez* = *tiegnez*, 187, 34.⁴

froiz, 323, 8: *cil les enchaucent qui en abatent de froiz & de pasmé a tel foison que . . .* The Glossary questions also whether we have here the perfect participial of *fraindre*, or the adjective *froid*. Undoubtedly it is the latter, as the combination of *pasmé* and *froid* (= *glacé de la mort*) is a common one; cf. *Troie*, l. 7165, *Freit e pasmé chieent a denz*; so ll. 8626, 20461.

liche, 124, 37: *avoit les elz en la teste autresi gros & noirs com est une liche*: Godefroy cites from *Renart*, B. XIII, 775: "Les euz out gros comme une

¹ Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Fra. Gram.*, 2d ed., p. 249.

² Cf. Aucassin et Nicolette, 38, 12, etc., *engien* for *engin*.

³ Cf. Crétien, *Yvain*, 481, "tel noise et tel fraint."

⁴ Cf. *tiede* = *teide* (115, 2), *taide* (310, 7), MS *glieve* = *glaise* of the text (216, 33).

lische," and defines *lische* as the "femelle d'un chien de chasse." Cotgrave gives "*lyce*=a bitch, etc."

lisive, 198, 14: & s'en vont totes u ru . . . de la fontaine . . . levent & pignent & trecent que autre *lisive* ni quistrent: Meyer-Lübke¹ gives "**lissive*" as the form Latin *liziva* should have given, whereas by dissimilation we have *lessive*.

main, 150, 11: a *pucele* brings to Arthur the greeting of the *Sage Dame*: *dez vos saut [je salue] & vos & vostre compaignie toute & quanque vos amez*, etc. The king facetiously replies: *En cest salu que vos m'avez dit avez vos ja grant part*, etc., and the girl answers: *granz merciz, sire, de tant main ge mierz & vos avec*—a simple case of the reflexive of *aimer*. Similarly, *mein*, 187, 23: & mierz m'ein ge travaillier que ge vos oceisse. Both this and the preceding example might be added to those cited by Godefroy of the reflexive of *aimer*; of *s'aimer* à, there is likewise an example in this manuscript, 83, 50: *la roine dist que mierz s'amoit ilec qu'en la cité*.

mien, 77, 15: *Gaudins, fail li rois conois ge bien car mien l'ai veu & bons chevaliers est il*, etc.: the editor suggests that for *mien* we should have *maint jor*. Possibly *mien* for *mein*<*mane*, "this morning."

samain, 149, 11: *i avoit degrez en tornoiant si que l'en pooit tout contremont aler tant que l'en avenist a sa main tout en somet*: one thinks that a *samain* must be for *ensement*=*ainsi*. Many variants of the word are noted by Godefroy: *ancement*, *ensament*, etc.

tor, 169, 35: *li cols descent desus la destre espaule si roidement que il li enbat l'espee jusque desoz le tor de l'os de l'espaule*: this use of *tor*=*tour* would seem to be sufficiently explained by Godefroy: "circonférence qui limite un corps ou un lieu circulaire," or it might be looked upon as used for *tournant*"="défaut de l'épaule": ". . . le fiert a descouvert ou tournant de la destre espaule."³

vencheront, 33, 1: *il n'est pas, fait Merlins, de cels qui toz jors gaient l'orillier et se vantent as cheminees & dient qu'il vencheront forre, que avant que il reviegne fera il toute paor au plus gros roi de cels de l'ost*: this form is put tentatively in the Glossary under *vengier*, of which *venchier*⁴ is the ordinary form in our manuscript. If *forre* had been recognized as the heathen king of Naples and written with a capital, the form would perhaps have found its place unquestioned under *vengier*. Chrétien in *Yvain* makes Kay say to the hero:

"Après mangier sanz remuër
Va chascuns Noradin tuër,
Et vos iroiz vangier Forré!"⁵

¹ *Hist. Frs. Gram.*, § 166; cf. §§ 133 and 228.

² Godefroy, X, 786.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 788.

⁴ Cf. MS *juchies* (250, 21), which is changed to *jugies* in the text, and *granche* (94, 39), which like *venchier* is unnoted.

⁵ 595 ff.

Of the remaining starred words no exact prototypes have been found: *anchese*, 195, 34: *la bouche anchese*: Godefroy cites a passage from the St. Graal as the single illustration of *anches* used as a substantive in the description of a person: "et fait un petit anches de la bouche." One thinks of *anché* (Littré) "recourbé comme un cimeterre," a derivative of *anche* (= *tuyau*), but the form *anches* is then difficult to explain. So far as the manuscript before us is concerned, *anches* might be for *anchois*, but the meaning then is questionable.

amenuisier, 180, 25: *quant ce vint un poi apres la mienuit que li jal comencierent a amenuisier*: the word is entered in the Glossary under *amenuisier* = "to diminish," but in the footnote the suggestion is made that it may be from the same root as *menestrier*. It occurs three times, each time written in the same way and used in the same connection. Professor Jenkins suggests that it may be connected with *menuier*, "cor qui fait entendre un cri aigu et retentissant."

berrone, 78, 48: *tant qu'il vint a Clarence la cite . . . & mist son siege a la porte berrone qui estoit la maistre porte de la vile*: to students of history the significance of the word *berrone* is unimportant compared with the appearance here repeatedly (pp. 1, 9, 18, 26, etc.), as well as in the earlier *Estoire de Merlin*¹ of the city of Clarence, not far from the plains of Salisbury and the river Severn, and of a Duke of Clarence, long before Lionel,² son of Edward III, came into the "novel dignity of Duke of Clarence"³ in 1362. If the explanation of the title as being transmitted to Lionel by his mother, Philippine de Hainaut, who was duchess of that Clarence in the Morea, so well known at that time through its mint,⁴ be rejected, it would still need to be explained how Clare became Clarence, and how the Irish-English Earl of Clare became the French-English Duke of Clarence, for in no ordinary acceptation of terms can Clarence be said to be "a later form of Clare."⁵ It is near the present town of Clare that there are still found the "remains of a great castle of the mighty family" of Clare,⁶ the same town which the discredited sixteenth-century historian, Polydore Virgil, no more at a loss than the modern historian to explain the title, calls Clarentia "pagus nobilis comitatus Suthfolchiae ad fines Essexiae comitatus."⁷

besengnis, 67, 24: *le lion d'or en l'escu mi parti le champ d'argent & de synople & une bende blanche de besengnis au lion rampant corone*: this description of the escutcheon of Gauvain may be compared with that given later, 307, 12: *il porte un escu mi parti d'or & d'azur a un lion rampant corone de synople a une bende blanche de bellic*. *Bellic* is here undoubtedly by confusion

¹ *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, II, 189, 398 f.

² Cf. *ibid.*, I, xxvi.

³ Tout, *Political Hist. of England*, III, 428.

⁴ Cf. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, pp. 312 ff.

⁵ *Ency. Brit.*

⁶ Mackenzie, *Castles of England*, I, 275.

⁷ Ed. 1670, pp. 391 f. Sommer's *Index of Names and Places* to the seven volumes of the Arthurian Romances, 1916, has just been received. On p. 17, n. 6, the suggestion is made that *berrone* is for *bertone*.

for *bellif*, *beslif*; "de *beslif* = obliquement," according to the editor of *Troie*, who refers to the lines:¹

"Pitagoras, mien esciënt
Aveit unes armes d'argent
O une bende de *besli*."

We would see therefore in *besengnis* a synonym of *beslif* and derive it from *bes* (= *biais*) + the verbal substantive of *sengnier*, to mark, and *if* = +flexional *s*.

braz, 308, 22: & *se ne fussent li clo[u]* dont li *fust estoient cloé tuit cheïssent par pieces. mais li braz de la boucle les tenoit*: it looks as if we had here the English word *brad*, a synonym of *clou*.

bret, 170, 41: & *covendra qui ces trois aventures traïront* [MS *traïra*] a *fin qu'il soient troi* dont li *uns sera filz d'empereor & d'empereriz. & li autre dui soient bret & parent*, etc.: the editor gives "bret—? Breton, Briton." In this case we should have expected the plural *breton* in the manuscript.

rupei, 314, 15: & *messires Gauvain s'en vait tant que il vient a un rupei molt grant*; 314, 23: *mais ilec ou li troi jaïant conversoient avoit molt biau plain, car li bois & li rupei i defailloit*: the Glossary reads: "*rupei*—? = *rocheroi* (formation analogique avec *ronceroi*, *roseroi*, etc.) = rocher ou place couvert [sic] de rochers." The words *arbroie*, feminine (119, 32), and *ronceroi*, masculine (217, 30), are used in this manuscript. This suffix, masculine <-*etum*, feminine <-*eta*, designates generally a field of the tree or plant indicated by the theme. It seems probable that we have here such a derivative of the word in du Cange: "*Ruper*, Ligni genus," etc., and that this word in its turn was an incorrect but quite explicable latinization of the OFr *rovre*, white oak.

To complete the presentation of words found difficult of explanation by Sommer, we should mention two others defined in the Glossary with a question mark. The first, *esplumeor* (272, 27), seems sufficiently elucidated by the citations given by Godefroy under this word and *emplumeor*. The other is not quite so simple: 103, 33: & *il demanda ou il estoit & l'en [li] dist au cor de la bataille devers les estans*.² The Glossary gives: "*estans*, *estanc* s.m. = étang?" It seems to me that the form is rather a manuscript abbreviation, intentional or unintentional, of *estandarz*, a word often used in the manuscript, appropriate here and in consonance with its use elsewhere.

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¹ 7918 ff. These same lines are cited by the *Dict. Gén.* as the earliest example of the use of "*belif* et *belic*. . . Couleur rouge (syn. *gueules*)." The confusion was sanctioned perhaps by Furetière, for Cotgrave gives only "*belic*, a kind of red, or gueules, in Blazon." Godefroy I and VIII, p. 313, besides *belif* and variants, = "de travers," gives both *belif* and *belic* with the same definition, "couleur rouge," etc., but curiously enough, under *belic* there is a citation from the Grenoble manuscripts of Arthur, "une bende blanche de *belic*," where surely we have our word *beslif*, as a *bende* could not well be white and at the same time red. And, also, under *belif* the earlier illustration is from Lancelot, "une bende de *belif* toute vermeille," where the case is the same.

² [Probably *devers les estaus* (sg. *estal*). The *estal* (or *estaus*) was the military base; cf. Wace's *Brut*: *guerpir lur sunt tuz lur estaus* (in Godefroy, III, 592). As to the interesting word *esplumeor*, reference should be made to the discussion of Brugger, "L'Enserrement Merlin," *Ztschr. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXI, 245-70.—Eds.]

